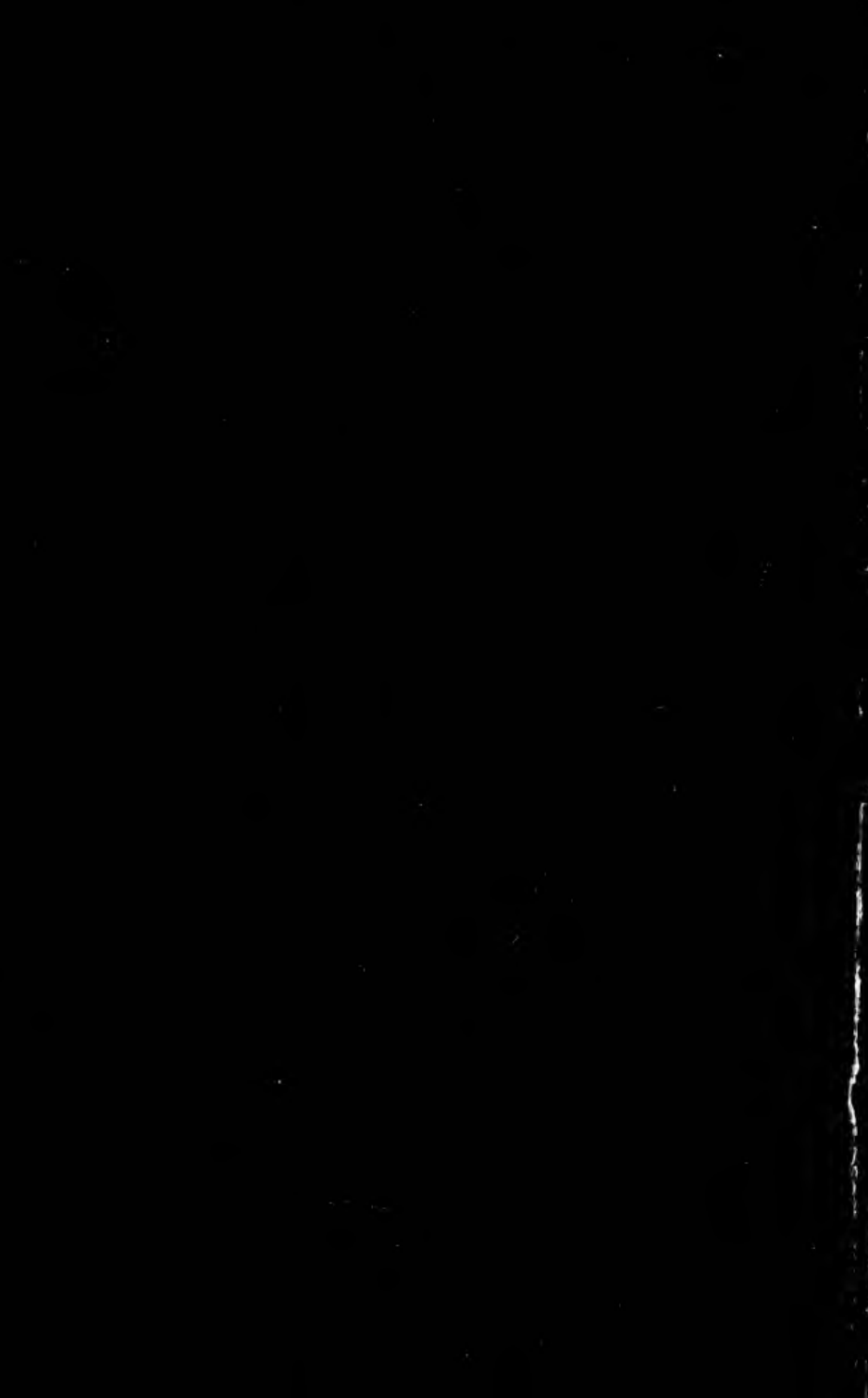




Diocesan Histories

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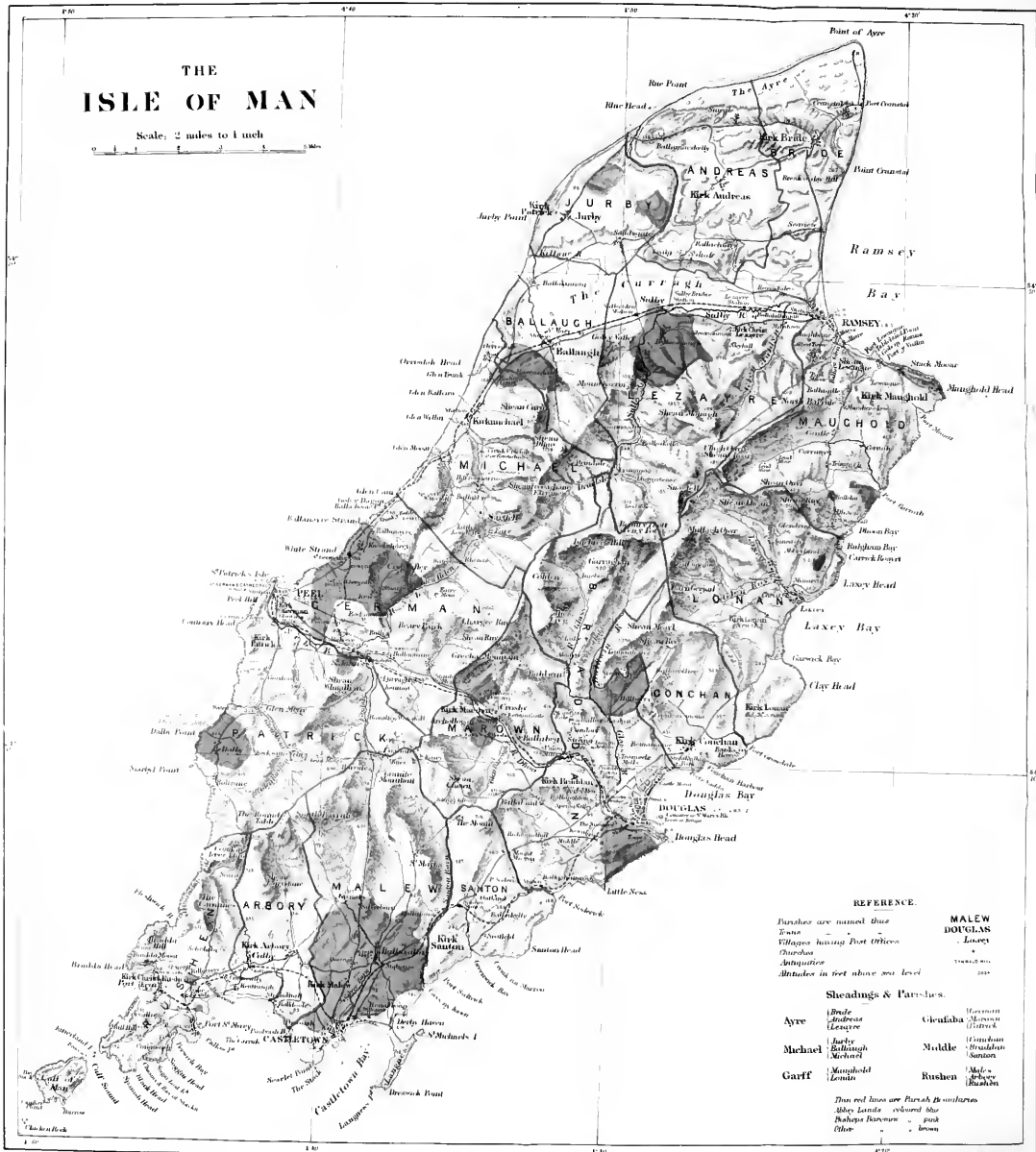
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ISLE OF MAN

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| *Senton*

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^{Arbore}
^{Rushen}

and blue

pink
brown

40 miles. About 100

-home
DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

SODOR AND MAN.

BY

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TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AUTHOR OF "MANX SURNAMES AND PLACE NAMES," THE "FOLKLORE OF
THE ISLE OF MAN," ETC.

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PREFACE.

IN endeavouring to write a history of the Manx Church, I have encountered various difficulties. Before the twelfth century, there is an almost total absence of trustworthy sources of information. Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the monkish chronicles, the charters and papal bulls, which are the staple materials available for my purpose, afford, as regards a portion of the chronicles at least, a somewhat unreliable basis for the construction of a credible and continuous history. Whilst, during the last three centuries, I have found it by no means easy to make a judicious selection from the copious materials in the insular records, both ecclesiastical and civil, and in the writings of authors contemporary with the events they relate.

Want of space has, unfortunately, prevented the publication of the canons of Bishops Simon, Mark, and Russell,¹ but the most important of the spiritual laws, and the whole of Bishop Wilson's canons, will be found in the text.

¹ For these canons, see Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, or vol. ix. pp. 176—210 of the *Manx Society's Publications*.

I have to thank the Clerk of the Rolls (Mr. Alured Dumbell) and the Vicar-General (Mr. Samuel Harris) for permitting me to inspect and take extracts from the records in their charge, also their officials for having placed every facility for doing so at my disposal. My thanks are also due to the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Stubbs) for assistance in obscure points with reference to some of the bishops ; to Mr. John Frowde, Librarian, Bermondsey, S.E., for searches among original documents at the British Museum ; and to the Archdeacon of Man (Dr. Hughes-Games) and the Rev. E. McClure for sundry suggestions.

A. W. MOORE.

CRONKBOURNE, ISLE OF MAN,
May, 1893.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

To economize space the following abbreviations, which are placed in brackets, have been made use of.

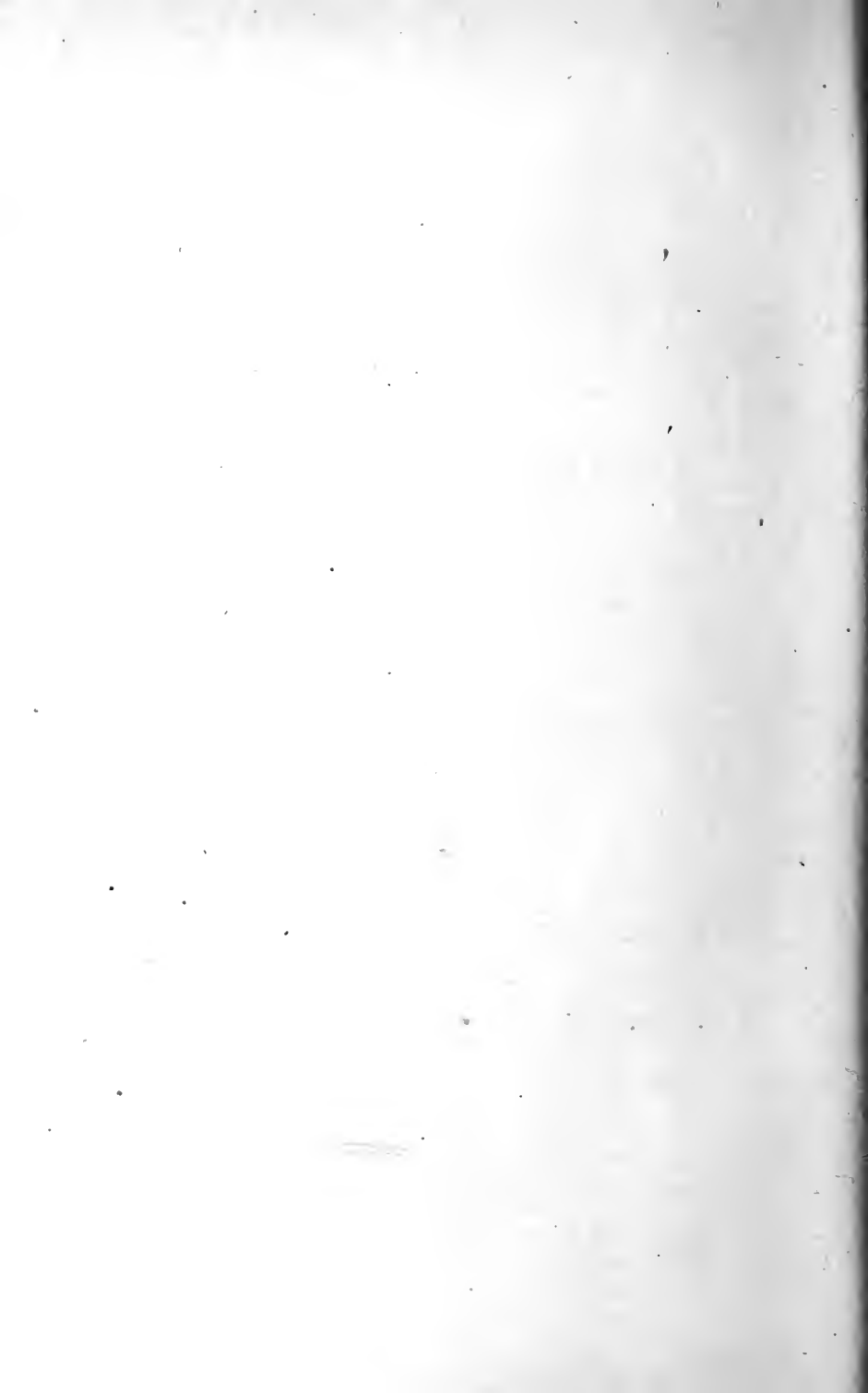
Rymer's "Fœdera" (Fœdera). Vatican Archives (Vat. Arch.). Rotuli Scotiæ (Rot. Scot.). Rotuli Hiberniæ (Rot. Hib.). Rotuli Patentium (Rot. Pat.). Rotuli Patentium Hibernæ (Rot. Pat. Hib.). Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum (Rot. Lit. Claus.). Additional Charters (Add. Chart.). Chartulary of Furness (Chart. Furn.). Registry of York (Reg. York). Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster (Cart. Duch. Lanc.). Cottonian MSS. (Cott. MSS.). Insular Civil Records containing Libri Rotulorum (Rotul.), Libri Scaccarii (Lib. Scacc.), and Libri Chancellarii (Lib. Chancell.). Stubbs's "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" (Reg. Sac. Ang.). Le Neve's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" (Le Neve). Brady's "Episcopal Succession" (Brady). Sacheverell, "An Account of the Isle of Man" (Sacheverell). Browne Willis's "Survey of the Cathedral of Man" (Browne Willis). J. M. Neale's "Ecclesiological Notes," Isle of Man, 1848 (Neale). "The Statutes of the Isle of Man," Gill's Edition (Statutes). Chaloner's "Treatise of the Isle of Man" (Chaloner). Blundell's "History of the Isle of Man" (Blundell). Keble's "Life of Bishop Wilson" (Keble). Cruttwell's "Works of Bishop Wilson" (Cruttwell). Stowell's "Life of Bishop Wilson" (Stowell). Wilson's "History of the Isle of

Man" (Wilson). Waldron's "Description of the Isle of Man" (Waldron). Butler's "Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley" (Memoirs). Feltham's "Tour through the Isle of Man" (Feltham). Bullock's "History of the Isle of Man" (Bullock). Lord Teignmouth's "Scotland and the Isle of Man" (Lord Teignmouth). Rosser's "History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man" (Rosser). The Rev. P. Ward's "Isle of Man and Diocese of Sodor and Man" (Ward). A. W. Moore's "Surnames and Place Names of the Isle of Man" ("Manx Names," A. W. Moore).

There are no special references to the *Chronicon Manniæ* as it is so very largely quoted. Any references to the pages of Ecclesiastical Records would be impossible, as they are, for the most part, in loose sheets not paged or arranged, while the Civil Records are only partially paged.

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SODOR AND MAN.

CHAPTER I.

CELTIC PERIOD.

THE early ecclesiastical history of Man is shrouded in as dense a mist of myth and tradition as is its early secular history. We can, therefore, only dimly grope our way to an understanding of the probable state of religion in Man at and after the introduction of Christianity, by a careful comparison of what went on in the adjacent countries, especially Ireland, during the same period ; and by inferential use of the names of the ancient Celtic saints which have come down to us in connexion with this island. But, before entering upon this, it will, we think, be some guide to the better appreciation of the subject, if we briefly inquire who were the earliest inhabitants of Man, and what was their religious belief. There is but little doubt that the earliest inhabitants of Man were of non-Aryan race, because there are distinct traces

of a cranial development typical of such a race among Manxmen at the present day.¹ As to their religious belief, if we may judge from modern survivals,² it seems to have consisted in the worship of nature, or its spirit, as personified by animals, stones, trees, and wells.³ It was, in fact, "a kind of fetichism, which considered the various objects of nature as malignant beings who had to be propitiated with offerings or sacrifices to avert their wrath. In connexion with this worship, a class of persons arose whom we know by the Celtic name of *druadh*,⁴ who stood between the people and their deities, and who acquired great power over the former by the influence they were supposed to exert over the latter by their sacrifices⁵ and magic arts. Into the midst of these people came the conquering Goidels, who were, seemingly, originally polytheists of the Aryan type.⁶ These Goidels were clearly

¹ *The Physical Anthropology of the Isle of Man* (Beddoe). *Manx Note-Book*, No. IX., pp. 23—33.

² See *Folklore of the Isle of Man* (A. W. Moore), pp. 141-53.

³ According to Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, the condition under which such survivals as these are found "show that they date from a time prior to the arrival of the Celts in this country"; (p. 173), thus affording an additional proof of the non-Aryan character of Man's first inhabitants.

⁴ "The non-Celtic natives . . . had another religion, namely druidism, which may be surmised to have had its origin among them" (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 69).

⁵ It should be remembered, that "in no tale or legend of the Irish druids" (with whom the Manx druids were most likely to have been connected) "which has come down to our time, is there any mention of their ever having offered human sacrifices" (O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. ii., p. 222). In this respect they differed from the British druids, who did so. (See *Tacitus*, Ann. xiv., 29, 30.)

⁶ "Goidelic Celts, devotees of a religion which combined Aryan polytheism with druidism" (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 70)

greatly influenced by the magic arts of the druids (*druadh*), or priests, of the conquered race, as they practised a religion which combined the chief characteristics of druidism with those of their own. This view of the influence of the druids is confirmed by the use made of their name in the Celtic literature of later times. In Welsh poetry, it is applied to the *magi*, or wise men of the East, who came to our infant Saviour with gifts; and, in Ireland, it is not only used in the same manner, but is usually rendered into Latin by *magus*, a magician. The *druadh*, after their adoption by the Goidels, were, in fact, soothsayers, priests, and medicine-men, but their principal character was, perhaps, that of magicians.¹ It is in this aspect of magicians that they appear in the early legends about the introduction of Christianity, one of which, for instance, represents St. Patrick, who is supposed to have driven them from Ireland, praying, in a very old hymn attributed to him, to be protected—

“Against snares of demons,
Against black laws of heathens,
Against spells of women, smiths, and *druads*.”²

They, indeed, are said to have given the saint much trouble, as they strove to surpass him in working

¹ It was formerly supposed that they sacrificed to the *Phœnician Baal* in the stone circles, but more recent research has shown that these mighty monuments are the memorials of a pre-historic race, and that the Goidels had no knowledge of this deity.

² Quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 111. The contact between Christianity in Man and the departing druidism is shown by the occurrence of the genitive of *druadh*—i. e. *droata*—in the ogam character on a stone near Port St. Mary.

miracles, though, of course, in vain, and they opposed him in every possible way.

In the Isle of Man, as elsewhere, the old order was to give way to the new, but probably so gradually, and certainly so obscurely, that we are entirely unable to state more than that the Manx were probably converted to Christianity in the sixth or seventh century,

or possibly as early as the fifth century.¹
 Date of probable conversion of Manx doubtful. But even this general statement is only made on the strength of indirect evidence, as there are no contemporary records relating to ecclesiastical events in Man before A.D. 1134,² and no consecutive narrative before the

¹ The *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, which O'Curry (MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History, 343-51) considers older than the *Book of Armagh* (A.D. 807), but on insufficient evidence, gives an account, as we shall see, of the conversion of the Manx in the fifth century; and the *Book of Armagh* tells us of the conversion of the Manx Saint Maughold. [Of the materials of this *Book of Armagh*, Aed, bishop of Gleibte (*ob.* 697), whose *Memoir of Patrick* is the second oldest in it (the oldest being that by Tirechan, *ob.* 657), tells us that many took in hand "to set forth in order a narration; but by reason of the very great difficulty of the narrative and the diverse opinions and numerous doubts of very many persons, have never arrived at any one certain track of history" (*Life of St. Patrick*, Dr. Todd's translation, p. 402), so we need not place much reliance on its contents. For note on lives of Saints, see note 1, p. 15.]

² See *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 269. It should be borne in mind that the list of Manx bishops, beginning with Patrick, given by recent Manx historians is a purely imaginary one. In support of this statement we may quote the monks of Rushen Abbey—and monks are usually credulous in such matters—to the effect that they regarded it as "sufficient to have begun the account of the bishops from Roolwer (end of eleventh century), because we are entirely ignorant who or what were the bishops before Roolwer's time; for we neither find any written documents on the subject, nor have we any certain accounts handed down by our elders" ("Chronicon Manniæ," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii., pp. 113-14).

middle of the thirteenth century, when the monks of Rushen probably began their *Chronicon Manniæ*.¹ The only difference, then, the historian finds, on passing from the period of paganism in Man to that of Christianity, is that he exchanges the comparatively trustworthy testimony of folklore for the hagiology of the early and mediæval monks, which, however, is in some cases confirmed by the testimony of local names.

But, before inquiring what these monks have to tell us, we may briefly state what is known about the conversion of Britain and Ireland, as their conversion must, almost certainly, have led to the same process in the small island lying between them, which, in the days when vessels crept along the shore as much as possible, would be a natural calling-place.

The British Church was represented at the Synod of Arles in A.D. 314; at the close of the fourth century the natives of Britain² were probably all Christians, and, at the beginning of the fifth century, they had advanced sufficiently to produce a heretic, Pelagius.³ This Pelagius had an intimate friend, Coelestinus, an Irishman, so that it is possible that in this way, if not also through the constant attacks of the Irish upon Britain during the fourth century, when they must have had intercourse with Christian natives,

¹ In 1249, the monks write of a story which was told them, "We have written the above as we had it from his own lips" ("Chronicon Manniæ," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii., p. 105).

² *I. e.* England and Wales.

³ Said to be a translation of Morgen, later Morien, "sea-born." See Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 229.

Christianity was introduced into Ireland before St. Patrick's time.¹ Who introduced it to Man, we cannot tell, but from the large proportion of the names of Irish ecclesiastics surviving in the old Manx *keeills*, or cells, which are of similar type to the Irish oratories of the sixth and seventh centuries, and in the Manx parish churches, which are usually on ancient sites, it may reasonably be conjectured that Manxmen were, for the most part, Christianized by Irish missionaries; and, indeed, it would have been strange if the proselytizing Irish² monks, who, beginning in the sixth century, wandered all over Europe, had avoided an island so near to them.

It is possible, however, that a Christianizing movement of somewhat earlier date may have reached Man from another quarter. For at the very end of the fourth century a British saint, Ninian (ob. ? 432), who had been trained at Rome, built a church, called *Candida Casa*, on the western side of Wigton Bay, and dedicated it to St. Martin of Tours.³ It is said that through his teaching the southern Picts were converted, but, as they soon afterwards seem to have apostatized,⁴ his influence was not a permanent one.

¹ About this period came the gradual conquest of Britain by the pagan Saxons, but this would not affect Ireland or the districts of Cambria, Strathclyde, and Galloway, adjacent to Man.

² They may have come either direct from Ireland or from the Scotch isles, see p. 20.

³ Bede, *Hist. Ec.*, B. iii, 4, quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 130.

⁴ Jocelin, *Life of Kentigern*, quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 39.

Our evidence about his possible influence in Man, as well as about that of his successors, Patrick (ob. 461) and Columba (*n.* 504, *ob.* 580), is founded upon the proximity of the sphere of their work to Man, and upon the names found there, as above mentioned ; but it must be understood that the occurrence of these names in Man does not necessarily mean that those who bore them visited Man, or even that they were bestowed during the period of the saints' lifetime ; indeed, they were more probably the result of the pious remembrance preserved by later generations.

There may, then, be a trace of St. Ninian in Man in the name of the thirteenth cen-
St. Ninian.
1st movement.
 tury church of St. Trinian (a corruption of Saint Ninian), which may have been re-built on an older site, and the dedication of a *keeill* to St. Martin is perhaps due to the same connexion.

With reference to the second Christianizing movement, that initiated by St. Patrick, there
St. Patrick.
2nd movement.
 is more ample information, but, as regards Man, it is of an even less reliable character.¹ The following interesting account of it is given in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*.

St. Patrick having by means of a miracle converted a wicked man of Ulster, called Macc Cuill, and his men, the following incident is related : "Then they were silent and said, 'Truly this man Patrick is a man of God.' They all forthwith believed, and Macc

¹ See note 1, *ante*, p. 12. As to the lives of the Irish saints, which may be quoted as authorities on this period, O'Curry states that the oldest belong to the seventh century. On these have been founded the various martyrologies, of which the best are those of Tallacht, of Ængus, and of Donegal.

Cuill¹ believed, and at Patrick's behest he went in the sea in a coracle of [only] one hide. . . . Now Macc Cuill went on that day to sea, with his right hand towards Mag Inis, till he reached Mann, and found two wonderful men in the island before him. And it is they that preached God's Word in Mann, and through their preaching the men of that island were baptized. Conindri and Romuil were their names. Now when these men saw Macc Cuill¹ in his coracle they took him from the sea and received him with a welcome, and he learnt the divine rule with them until he took the bishopric after them. Tripartite Life. This is 'Macc Cuill from the sea,' the illustrious bishop and prelate of Arduimen."²

From this account it would certainly be inferred that St. Patrick had not visited Man;³ but, whether he did so or not, his name has been freely made use of in Manx sacred sites, two of the parish churches, Kirk Patrick, and Kirk Patrick of Jurby, bearing it, and no less than seven *keeills*.⁴ The names of the

¹ Or Maughold. For account of his conversion, see *Book of Armagh*, or *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, pp. 21—25.

² Stokes's translation, p. 223. Instead of Arduimen, Colgan has Ard-Ebnanensis.

³ It was reserved for Jocelin (on whose account that in the *Chronicon Mannic* is probably founded), a monk of Furness, writing early in the twelfth century—who may, however, have had access to information not attainable now—to assert his visit to Man as a fact, and his narrative is expanded and embellished by the *Supposed True Chronicle of Man* and the *Traditionary Ballad*, both probably of not earlier date than the sixteenth century.

⁴ Besides these, there is an old cromlech (?) called his chair in the parish of Marown. (See note, pp. 30-31.)

following saints who are supposed to have lived during his time, are also found in Man : Maughold (the Macc Cuill already mentioned), said to have been one of his earliest disciples, who has given his name to a parish, a headland, and an islet ; Lonan, who has a parish ; and Brigit (*n.* 438, *ob.* 508), the most famous of Irish female saints, who has a parish and seven *keells*,¹ and who, according to Manx tradition, founded the nunnery near Douglas ; and there is possibly also Ruisen, or Rushen, one of Patrick's disciples,² who may have given his name to the parish church of Rushen. From thence it may have been applied to the sheading, glen, castle and town of that name (the town being now called Castletown).

Other saints
of his time
whose names
are found in
Man.

About St. Germanus, who is said to have preceded Conindrus and Romulus,³ and to have been the first bishop, there has been much controversy, which need not be entered into here. It will suffice to state that he is not mentioned in any of St. Patrick's lives, except Jocelin's ; nor is he mentioned in the *Chronicon Manniæ*. It has been suggested by the writer elsewhere⁴ that the name of Germanus, the famous bishop of Auxerre, sent with Lupus, bishop of Troyes, by the Gallican clergy in 429 to deliver the British Church from the Pelagian heresy, has been substituted for

¹ Brigit is said to have come over to Man to receive the veil from Maughold (*Book of Armagh*).

² *Martyrology of Tallacht*.

³ Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga, quinta appendix ad Acta S. Patricii*, p. 266.

⁴ *Manx Names* (A. W. Moore), pp. 210-11.

that of Coemanus, or Mochaemog,¹ a disciple of St. Patrick's, who, according to an ancient legend, was connected with him in the conversion of the children of Lir.²

Following the learned Dr. Lanigan, then, we may conclude that "there is no sufficient foundation for St. Patrick having preached in Man; that its first bishop was not the pretended Germanus; and that, although it is not improbable that Conindrus and Romulus had received their appointment from our saint, we have no decisive testimony on the subject."³

It cannot, therefore, be regarded as more than possible that Man received Christianity in Patrick's time, and assuming that it did, let us consider in what way its Church was probably organized. If similar to the Church in Ireland, it would have been under "a congregational and tribal episcopacy, united by a federal rather than a territorial tie."⁴

¹ The prefix "Mo" (my) and the affix "og" (young) are both expressive of endearment.

² *The Tragical Fate of the Children of Lir*, an imaginative story of unknown date, tells us that it was "by St. Patrick and St. Mochaemog the children of Lir were gathered into the fold of Christ." Being baptized they slept in peace, "their tombstone was raised over their graves, and their ogam names were written and their lamentation rites were performed, and heaven was obtained for their souls through the prayers of Mochaemog" (O'Curry, *The Atlantis Magazine*, No. VII., p. 153). This Lir was the father of Manannan, the eponymous ruler of Man.

³ *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. i., chap. vi., n. 118, pp. 305—307. The following more obscure saints may also belong to this period: St. Connigen (parish of Conchan), Cairbre (parish of Arbory), St. Orora (*Keeill-Crore*), St. Lingan (*Keeill-Lingan*).

⁴ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 22.

But this system did not prove successful in Ireland, and seems "to have led, towards the end of his (St. Patrick's) life, to the adoption of a very peculiar sort of collegiate church. It consisted in a group of seven bishops placed together in one church; and they were brought closer to the tribal system based on the family, which prevailed in Ireland, by these bishops being usually seven brothers selected from one family in the tribe."¹ There was an establishment of this kind in Iona at the end of the fifth century,² and it is not unlikely that there may have been something similar in Man. If we may believe the *Tripartite Life*, Man had at this time³ (the end of the fifth century) become famous as a retreat for hermit monks, but we may more reasonably conjecture that this was not so till a century later, especially as, according to two MSS.⁴ of the eighth century, the eremitical order did not begin in Ireland till towards the end of the sixth century. These MSS. tell us that there were three classes of saints, corresponding to three periods of the Irish Church before the "great mortality" in 666. The first order was from Patrick to 534, when they "were all bishops . . . founders of churches . . . they observed one

Three orders
of Saints.

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 24-5.

² As we find Ængus, the Culdee, in his Litany invoking "the seven bishops of Hii."

³ "Manniam sive Euboniam olim Druidum et gentiliū vatum, postea, ab adventu Sti. Patricii, Christi mystarum et monachorum secessu; et sede nobilem, claramque insulam." (*Sep. Vita S. Patricii*, cap. cliii., p. 98.)

⁴ A *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*, attributed to Tirechan, and the "Litany of Ængus." (Quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 12-14.)

mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear," and "rejected not the services and society of women." In fact a period of churches and a secular clergy. In the second order, which lasted from 534 to 572, "there were few bishops and many presbyters" who "refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries." Here the churches are superseded by monasteries, and the secular clergy by a regular or monastic clergy. The third order was that of eremitical clergy, "who dwelt in desert places, and lived on herbs and water, and the alms"; they did not supersede the monasteries, but co-existed with them.

We now come to the third great Christianizing movement, that of St. Columba, which
 3rd movement. took place during the second and third of the three periods just mentioned, and which was clearly the one which had the most enduring influence upon Man. This famous Irish saint was educated chiefly at the monastic school of Clonard, founded by St. Finnian, a friend of St. Brigit's, some years before. The first forty years of his
 St. Columba. life were spent in Ireland, where he is said to have founded no less than 300 churches. About 546, he sailed to Iona, then called I or Hy, with twelve disciples and 200 companions. This island, where he founded a monastery, became his head-quarters, and from thence he made his numerous missionary expeditions, which appear to have speedily resulted, not only in the conversion of the Western Isles and Man, but also of the Picts of the mainland of Scotland.

We will now dwell briefly on the character of this holy

man, and the nature of the system which he established. His biographer, Adamnan, who lived not long after his death, says of him that "from his boyhood he had been brought up in Christian training, in the study of wisdom, and by the grace of God had so preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul that, though dwelling on earth, he appeared to live like the saints in heaven. For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order and consummate prudence; he lived during thirty-four years an island soldier. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of such austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still in all these he was beloved by all; for a holy joy ever beaming on his face revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Ghost filled his inmost soul." ¹

As to his Church, we must bear in mind that it was a mission from the Irish Church, with which it never lost its connexion. It was essentially a monastic Church, with its bishops under monastic rule, and as such, subject to the abbot,² even though a presbyter, as the head of the community, though their special functions—ordination and the celebration of the

¹ Adamnan, Preface II. Quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 145.

² These abbots at a later date did not take orders, and so virtually became laymen with an hereditary office.

Eucharist—were fully recognized, as was their superior rank to the presbyters.

The members of the monastic community were termed brethren, and consisted of three classes. "Those of advanced years and tried devotedness were called seniors. Their principal duty was to attend to the religious services of the Church and to reading and transcribing the Scriptures. Those who were stronger and fitter to labour were termed the working brothers. Their stated labour was agriculture in its various branches, and the tending of cattle; and probably, in addition to this, the service within the monastery, in the preparation of food, and the manufacture of the various articles required for personal or domestic use. . . . The third class consisted of the youth who were under instruction. . . .

"The dress of the monks consisted of a white *tunica*, or under-garment, over which they wore a *camilla*, consisting of a body and hood made of wool, and of the natural colour of the material. When working or travelling their feet were shod with sandals, which they usually removed when sitting down to meat.

"Their food was very simple, consisting of bread, sometimes made of barley, milk, fish, eggs; and, in Iona, they appear to have also used seals' flesh. On Sundays and festivals, and on the arrival of guests, there was an improvement of diet; and an addition, probably of flesh meat was made to the principal meal. With regard to divine worship, Adamnan does not specially mention a daily service, but the recitation of the Psalter is so repeatedly alluded to as an important part of the service, that a part of the day

was probably given to it. . . . The principal service was unquestionably the celebration of the Eucharist, which took place on the *dies dominica*, or Lord's day, on the stated festivals of the Church, as well as on such particular occasions as the abbot may have appointed. . . . One very important feature of this monastic system was the penitential discipline to which the monks were subjected. The ordinary discipline consisted of fasting on Wednesday and Friday, and during Lent, to which those who practised extreme asceticism added the strange custom of passing a certain time with the body entirely immersed in water, and in that uncomfortable condition reciting the whole or part of the Psalter. . . .

"Their doctrinal system was that common to the Western Church prior to the fifth century. . . . To use the language of Columbanus, the Columban Church 'received nought but the doctrine of the evangelists and the apostles'; and, as we learn from Adamnan, the foundation of Columba's preaching, and his great instrument in the conversion of the heathen, was the Word of God."¹

The monasteries² in which such monks lived were probably of a very primitive description, consisting of groups of huts, surrounding a small church, or oratory,³ where they met for worship.

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 101. (Founded on Adamnan's account.)

² Two of the most famous Irish monasteries, Bangor and Sabhal, had lands in Man. See p. 36.

³ See *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 177; *Colgan*, p. 458, &c. The condition of the monks who lived in these huts may be judged from the description given by Dicuil of the Irish monks in Ice-

The organization of this Church was tribal, like that of its predecessors. It would seem that when a tribe was converted to Christianity, it granted the saint to whom this was due a portion of its territory, which was called the territory of "the tribe of the saint," the remaining portion being called "the tribe of the land."¹ On this territory, the saint formed a monastic establishment with its church, which was afterwards governed by abbots or *coarbs* connected by kinship with the original founder,² and was occupied by the monastic tribe as distinguished from the lay tribe. This tribe, or family, as it was also called, consisted partly of monks and partly of dependents. As Christianity spread, other churches in connexion with the original church would be established in various parts of the tribe's territory. The main characteristics of the Irish Church, then, were that it was a similar organization to that of the civil tribe, and that, during and after the Columban period, it was governed by abbots, who might be laymen, and not by bishops. In fact, as a learned writer well describes it, "the civil chaos out of which society had not yet escaped was faithfully reproduced in a Church devoid of hierarchical government; intensely national as faithfully reflecting the ideas of the nation, but not national

land, who rejoiced in the light at midnight in summer because it was sufficient to allow them "*Pediculos de camisa abstrahere tanquam in presentia solis*" (Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 217).

¹ See the tract *Corus Bescna* in *Senchus Mor.*, Rolls Edition, p. 65.

² See *Ibid.*, p. 79, where elaborate rules as to the rights of succession are given.

in the ordinary acceptation of the term, as possessing an organization co-extensive with the territory occupied by the nation.”¹

As regards the extension of this Church to Man, in addition to the fact that the names of Columban monks are found there, it should be borne in mind how great and far extended was the influence of Iona on all the adjacent countries. Thus Bede, in speaking of Northumbria, in the period 634 to 664, says that “all the province, and even the bishops, were subject to Iona.”²

Evidence of the extension of the Columban Church to Man.

Let us now briefly investigate the names of Columban monks in Man. Columba himself names a parish, though it now, except in the official records, bears its alternative name of Arbory, also a *keeill*; but perhaps an even more significant proof of what his influence was in Man is the fact that his name is still considered an effective charm against the fairies.³ One of his companions, St. Mochonna, or St. Dachonna, who was sent by him to the Picts, had a shrine on Inis-Patrick, probably Peel Island in Man,⁴ which, in 798, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, was “broken” by the “Gentiles”—*i. e.* the Norsemen.

Of the various Moluas, Molipas, Malius, and Moluocs, from whom the parish of Malew may have taken its name, the most likely to have been connected

¹ Introduction to Rolls Edition of *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. lxxvi.

² Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 157.

³ See *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, p. 99.

⁴ This is Dr. Todd's opinion. See Introduction to the *Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*.

with Man is the Moluoc, who founded a monastery in Lismore in Columba's time, and after whom the church of Kilmaluoc there is named. St. Ronan, too, though after Columba's time,¹ belonged to his Church, and is commemorated in Man in the parish of Marown, the church of which is dedicated to St. Runius (in Manx *Keeill-Maroonney*), in *Keeill-Ronan*, and perhaps in Ronnag.² Donnan of Eig, who founded a monastery in that island, probably in Columba's lifetime, and was "killed by robbers of the sea"³ there, in 616, is perhaps commemorated in *Ardonan*, "Donan's height."⁴ Such is the evidence which certainly tends to show that there was a Columban Church in Man.

Towards the end of the sixth century, as we have already seen,⁵ the communities of monks living in common under an abbot were largely supplemented,

The Culdees. if not superseded, by recluses, or anchorites, called *Céle-Dé* (companion or servant of God) or *Culdees*—who considered that a solitary life passed in devotion and self-mortification, accompanied by acts of benevolence to the sick and bereaved, was a "cultus" or "religio" particularly acceptable to God.⁶

¹ *Ob.* 737.

² Cf. Kilmaronok (Lennox), Teampull Ronaig, and Cladh Ronan (Iona).

³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 345.

⁴ The name of St. Brendan, the navigator, which probably occurs in the name of the parish of Braddan, would seem to have come to us from the Scotch isles, which he visited about 545 A.D., before the establishment of the Columban Church.

⁵ See p. 20.

⁶ Dr. Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 186—188) ingeniously tries to identify Irish and Oriental monasticism in several important particulars.

Judging from the numerous remains of the ancient *keeills*, or cells, which are still found in Man, we may, on the supposition that these *keeills*, or some of them, were used by the recluses,¹ reasonably conclude that the Isle of Man was a favourite resort of theirs.

The more primitive of the *keeills* were made entirely of sods, and their internal dimensions are about 15 ft. by 9 ft. Their single entrance seems to have been the only source of light. They were usually erected on artificial hillocks, some 3 ft. or 4 ft. high, and 30 ft. in diameter, which were surrounded by a sod fence, and contained no graveyard. A rather better class of *keeill* was built of sod and rough stone, or of rough stone only, without mortar. These *keeills* seem to have had side-lights, as well as an entrance-way, and their artificial hillocks, which were oval in form, being as much as 120 ft. by 70 ft., were used as graveyards. As they are all in ruins, it is impossible to say how they were roofed. A third and still more advanced style of *keeill* has its stones bound together with a sort of plastic clay. Their entrances are formed of three monoliths, of which the two side stones incline towards each other at the top, which is covered by the third. They have square-headed windows, and, in one of them, a rude bell turret survives on the western gable, the form of which shows that the roof was a high-pitched one. They are not on a raised mound. Their dimensions,

¹ But perhaps also in connexion with a central monastery, see p. 28.

and those of the second class, are about 20 ft. by 12 ft.¹ It is clear, then, that, as these cells were so small, they were not intended for large congregations, but merely for the accommodation of the recluse, and of a few who would visit him for religious advice and the ministrations of the Church. It is also significant of their use that near them there was invariably a well whence the holy men could draw water, both for their own consumption and for baptizing the children of those who came to them. It is possible, however, judging by the analogy of Ireland, that, in some cases, the recluses did not inhabit the *keeills*, but small buildings adjoining them, of which there are no traces left in Man. When this was so, as the recluses did not leave their abodes, the services in the *keeills* would probably be conducted by a monk from the central monastery connected with the original church, which, in Man, was most likely to have been on Peel Island.

We may probably get an idea of what these buildings were like in Man, and gain some knowledge of the way in which the Manx recluses spent their time, from the following rule which was drawn out for the guidance of the Irish recluses, or anchorites—"An anchorite's cell should be built of stone, 12 ft. long and 12 ft. broad. It should have three windows, one facing the choir through which he may receive the Body of Christ, another on the opposite side through which he may receive his food, and

Description of
the anchor-
ite's cell and
the rule by
which he
lived.

¹ The length of the Manx *keeills* in proportion to their breadth is usually as five to three. See *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., pp. 79—89.

the third for light. . . . He should be provided with three articles—a jar, a towel, and a cup. After tierce he is to lay the jar and cup outside the window, and then close it. About noon he is to come and see if his dinner be there. If it be, he is to sit at the window and eat and drink. When he has done, whatever remains is to be left outside for any one who may choose to remove it, and he is to take no thought for the morrow. But if it should happen that he has nothing for his dinner, he is not to omit his accustomed thanks to God, though he is to remain without food till the following day. His garments are to be a gown and a cap, which he is to wear waking and sleeping. In winter he may, if the weather be severe, wear a woolly cloak, because he is not allowed to have any fire save what his candle produces.”¹

These recluses or culdees “were finally brought under the canonical rule along with the secular clergy, retaining, however, to some extent the nomenclature of the monastery, until at length the name of culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canon.”² But neither this change, nor that of permitting the monks to marry, would have had time to develop in the Celtic Church of Man, before it was brought to an end by the pagan Northmen. Isolation of Irish Church. Before this catastrophe, Man, like Ireland, having been almost certainly cut off from Europe,

¹ “Memoirs of the Church of St. Dunleach,” by William Reeves, in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 1859.

² Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 277.

for a time, by the English conquest of Britain, would have had a share in the peculiar Irish Christianity which was developed there with an enthusiasm,

learning, and energy far greater than
 Its learning. existed elsewhere—a Christianity which

propagated its tenets by sending missionaries all over Europe. Armagh and Durrow were the universities of the west, and concentrated within their walls the science and biblical knowledge which had all but deserted the Continent. This isolation began, however, to be broken down early in the seventh century, when the

Struggle about bitter struggle between the Irish and
 Easter. Roman Churches about the time of keep-

ing of Easter began. The southern Irish, who had been more in contact with Britain and Gaul, adopted the Roman time in 633, while the northern Irish, with whom Man was naturally connected, swayed by the influence of the Columban community, did not fully adopt it till 716. This assimilation to Rome caused a decay in the Celtic Church system, and this decay was, later on, accelerated in Ireland by the Scandinavian invasions, which, in Man, probably all but completely destroyed not only the Celtic Church, but Christianity itself by the middle of the ninth century, as Man was not, like the larger adjacent kingdoms, partially occupied by the Northmen, but was entirely subjected by them. Yet, even so, the Celtic Church in Man has left some tokens of its existence in the ruins of the ancient *keeills* with their burying-grounds and sacred wells, in the round tower on Peel Island, in two rude pillar stones with incised crosses,¹ and in

¹ These form part of the cromlech (?) called St. Patrick's

a few¹ ogam inscriptions; and its continuity is proved by the fact that the inscribed crosses, dating from the latter part of the Scandinavian period, are, for the most part, found on ancient sacred sites dedicated to Celtic saints, whose names have come down to our own time. There are also village fairs of immemorial antiquity still held on the days of those saints, and the names of the staff-lands of St. Patrick and St. Maugho'd serve to remind us that these lands were held by lay families, as the hereditary guardians of the staffs of these saints, till a comparatively recent period.

chair, which are in the middle of a field called "Magher-y-Chiarn," in the parish of Marown. Mr. Romilly Allen ("Early Christian Monuments of the Isle of Man," in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xliii., p. 240) considers that they belong "to the period from about A.D. 400 to 700." We may also note an interesting inscription in Roman uncials as belonging to the same period (see Kermodé, *Manks Crosses*, p. 55).

¹ Six in number (see Kermodé, *Manks Crosses*, pp. 57—60).

CHAPTER II.

SCANDINAVIAN PERIOD (? 850—1275).

It was probably not before the beginning of the eleventh century that the Celto-Scandinavian population of Man received Christianity; and even then, perhaps, their reception of it was, like that of the Icelanders with whom they were closely connected, with the proviso that they might also continue their old worship. The state of mind of these people, in fact, with reference to religion at this period would seem to have been well expressed by the old warrior who said that he believed neither in idols nor spirits, but in his own force and courage.

They were willing to accept some of the outward ceremonies and festivals of the Church, which were considerably made to resemble what they were accustomed to as much as possible, but further than this they would not go. But perhaps the best proof of the slowness of the conversion of the inhabitants of Man is the fact that it is not till towards the end of the eleventh century that we find the name of a Manx ecclesiastic, the so-called bishop, Roolwer,

recorded.¹ It must not, however, be inferred from this title of bishop that he ruled over a see divided into parishes, where the Church held landed property, as such conditions did not obtain in Man till a much later period; but merely that he was an ambulatory bishop, attached to the king's court, while his assistants were probably monks without any fixed abode. But with the accession of Olaf I., in 1103, a more stable condition of affairs, ecclesiastical as well as secular, was probably initiated. For Olaf had been educated at the English court, and had doubtless acquired a knowledge of the English form of government. He would have seen there the feudal system in full operation, also the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical courts which had recently been carried out, the enforced celibacy of the clergy, and the gradually increasing power of the monastic system. And, as we know that he continued his friendly relations with England during the whole of the reign of Henry I., it is probable that, during his long and peaceful reign (1103—1154), he introduced much of the English system both in Church and State. Nor does this connexion with England seem to have been altogether

The first
Manx
bishop.

Olaf I. pro-
bably intro-
duced Eng-
lish system
in Church.

¹ See "Chronicon Manniæ," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii. (Munch's edition). The quotations from this, and its notes by the editor and Dr. Goss, are so frequent at this period that, to save space, the reference to each is not given, the reader being simply referred to it generally. It begins in 1066, and ends in 1374, the earliest part of it probably not having been written earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century (see note 1, p. 13). It cannot be implicitly relied on either for facts or dates. Its authors were almost certainly the monks of Rushen Abbey.

a new departure, as Godred Crouan, when King of Dublin as well as Man, gave canonical obedience to Canterbury, while Olaf seems to have been more especially connected with York.¹ Unfortunately, however, with the exception of the fact that he permitted the Cistercian monks of Furness to found an abbey at Rushen in Man, nothing is known of what he actually did in these respects.

This foundation of the abbey of Rushen, which took place in 1134,² was one of the most important events in the history of the mediæval Manx Church. It was important because these Cistercians were, as usual in their order, exempted from all episcopal visitation and control, by charter granted by the pope, and so were only subject to his rule and that of the abbots of their own order. These conditions, therefore, practically led to the subjection of the Manx Church to the great English abbey of Furness,³ and to a great increase of papal influence in its affairs. The new abbey was founded by Eudo, or Ivo, Abbot of Furness, who received lands for that purpose at Rushen and elsewhere in Man from Olaf I.,⁴ who, at the

¹ "Baronius, *Annales Eccles.*," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 266-68, see note 2, p. 53.

² Sacheverell, writing in 1702, states that Rushen Abbey was founded in 1098; but, as Furness, with which it was connected, was not founded till 1127, this seems improbable (see *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., pp. 34-36).

³ Though Sir James Gell says, "I cannot discover that the Abbot or Convent of Furness exercised or had any rights over the Abbey of Rushen or its temporalities beyond those of patronage and jurisdiction" (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xii., p. 3).

⁴ From a bull of Pope Eugenius, in 1152, we learn that these

same time, conferred lands and privileges on the "Churches of the Isles," and, in 1142, a grant in *frankalmoign* (free-alms) of lands in Lancashire was received from Arthur, son of Godred.

Thus had the abbey already acquired a very considerable landed property, and, in addition to this, it received one-third of the tithe of Man, which, at this time, was said to have been divided into three equal portions, one of which went to the bishop, another to the abbey¹ for the education and relief of the poor, and the third to the parochial clergy.

Landed property acquired by it.

The first act of Godred II. on his accession, in 1154, was to confirm this charter.² In 1176, the abbot of another English monastery, that of Rivaulx, acquired through Godred's gift a piece of land at Mirescoge,³ where "he built a monastery." But the building seems to have been abandoned by these monks, as we learn from the chartulary of Furness, in 1238, that it was not made use of by Rivaulx, but was "afterwards given to the abbey of

Monastery at Mirescoge.

lands were: "The lands of Carnaclet as far as the monastery of St. Leoc,¹ with their appurtenances; the village of Thorc, son of Asser (Kirk Michael); the village of Great Melau (? Malew); the village of Narwe, Stainredale with its appurtenances; the lands of St. Corebric and Fragerwl." (See "Chart. Furness," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 8—11.)

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. i., p. 711, quoted by Train, vol. ii., p. 53, as to abbey's share.

² "Cart. Duc. Lanc.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 13—16.

³ Said to be the place now called Ballamona in Lezayre. It was formerly an island in the Curragh.

¹ Perhaps the abbey church was first dedicated to St. Leoc, as it was not till 1257 that the church there was dedicated to St. Mary.

Furness to build it of the Cistercian order." All this tended to the aggrandizement of Furness, and of its offshoot at Rushen, so that the Cistercians seem to have been by far the most powerful religious body in the island.¹ There was also, probably, in existence at this time the nunnery of St. Bridget, near Nunnery of St. Bridget. Douglas,² of the date of the foundation of which we have no record; and the abbeys of Bangor Bangor and Sabhal in Ireland, of St. Bees in Sabhal. England, and of Whithorn in Scotland, all had lands in Man, though they were of very small extent compared to those of Rushen. In 1186, Pope Urban III. received Furness Abbey and its possessions under his protection, and confirmed the liberties granted to it; and, in 1188, Reginald I., who became king in that year, confirmed its charter.³

In 1246, King Harald, not content with merely confirming his predecessors' charters, issued an additional one of his own, by which the monks of Furness obtained "all kinds of mines" in Man, "three acres of land"⁴ near St. Trinians, and "exemption from all tolls and taxes." Their claim of the right of electing the bishop of the diocese from among their number will be referred to later.

We now approach the question of the foundation of the famous diocese of Sodor and Man. Since the reign of Godred Crouan, the connexion

¹ Though William of Worcester says that Rushen had only three monks (see *Itinerary*, p. 312).

² The monks of Rushen removed to Douglas in 1172, returning to Rushen in 1176 (see *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 48).

³ "Cart. Duc. Lanc.," pp. 17, 18.

⁴ Cott. MSS., *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 79—81.

of the Manx Church under its Scandinavian rulers seems to have been with England,¹ and it so continued till, towards the end of Olaf's reign, it was interrupted owing to the anarchy caused by the struggle between Stephen and Matilda. Being thus bereft of his most powerful protector, and being, after 1150, threatened by the powerful David of Scotland, the aged Olaf bethought himself of his neglected suzerain of Norway, and so sent his son Godred in 1151 to do homage to him. That kingdom was, however, practically in a state of civil war, which lasted, with a few tranquil intervals, till 1217. This fact, combined with the death, in 1153, of David, whose successors had enough to do in dealing with revolts at home, and the accession of Henry II. to the English throne in 1154, soon led the Manx kings back to their former protector.

Diocese of
Sodor and
Man.

Relations of
Manx kings
with sur-
rounding na-
tions.

But the Norwegian connexion had lasted long enough to produce a remarkable ecclesiastical change, viz., the formation of the diocese of Sodor, including Man, with Nidaros or Drontheim as its metropolitan see, a diocese which long survived the period of Scandinavian rule over Man and its satellites, and whose name remains to the present day. In fixing the formation of the diocese at this time (1154) we are on firm ground, but it is possible that it may have existed at previous intervals, though not, probably, in connexion with Drontheim. The question of the existence of this

Drontheim
becomes Man's
metropolitan.

¹ See p. 34.

diocese before 1154 is, however, one which is involved in the greatest obscurity, and all that we can do is to point out what we consider to be the probabilities, leaving our readers to elucidate the problem for themselves. On the very threshold of this inquiry, we are confronted by the fact that the ancient Scandinavian diocese of the kingdom of Man and the

Derivation of western isles of Scotland was called Sodor. Sodor only, not Sodor and Man. This

name of Sodor (*Suðr-eyjar*), or the South Isles, was given in contradistinction to Nordr (*Norðr-eyjar*), or the North Isles, *i. e.* the Orkneys and Shetlands, and it included the Hebrides, all the smaller western isles of Scotland, and Man. It is not known when Man

When was Man united with the rest of Sodor? was first united with the rest of Sodor, but perhaps there is something in the tradition that Magnus Barefoot was the author of this change in 1098, though

it is quite possible that Man was visited before this date, in common with the other Sudreys, by the same bishop, who would follow the king's court as it moved from place to place. Under Olaf I., who was the first king who bore undisputed rule in the other Sudreys, as well as Man, for any considerable period, such an arrangement probably became a permanent one. For it was at this time that the civil connexion of Man with Dublin and Ireland was definitely severed, and that Man became the head of a purely maritime kingdom, nominally subject to the suzerainty of Norway. This suzerainty became again, in 1152, as we have seen, a real one, and one result of this was the establishment, or, it may be,

the re-establishment of the spiritual supremacy of Norway. For it was in 1152 that, by bull of Pope Eugenius III., confirmed by Pope Anastasius IV. in 1154,¹ the Sudreys were placed under the archiepiscopate of Nidaros (Drontheim), which was created a metropolitan see. Before this date, probably, and before 1098, almost certainly, the bishoprics of the Sudreys and Man were distinct, and Man seems to have been a dependent of Dublin and, through Dublin, of Canterbury. But from 1154 till, at least, the early part of the fifteenth century,² they appear to have continued united, though the political connexion of both Sodor and Man with Norway was severed in 1266,³ and the connexion of Man with Scotland in 1334.

¹ For Pope Anastasius states that Nicholas, bishop of Albano, "in accordance with instructions he had received from" Pope Eugenius, conferred the pallium on John, Archbishop of Drontheim; "and that the province of Norway might not ever afterwards be deprived of the care of a metropolitan, he constituted the city of Drontheim, which is under thy charge, perpetual metropolis of the said province, and ordained that the bishoprics of Oslo, Hamar, Bergen, Stavanger, the Orkneys, the *Sudreys*, the Icelandic Islands, and Greenland, should be in all future times subject to it as to their metropolis, and that the bishops of those sees should obey thee and thy successors as their metropolitan. Wherefore, in order that no one may ever attempt to violate this constitution, we confirm it by apostolic authority and strengthen it by the present instrument."—*Diplomatarium Arna-Magnæanum*, pub. by Thorquelin, tom. ii. p. 3. *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii. p. 278.

² After 1422, bishops' names occur who seem to have been appointed for the Scotch isles only (see ch. iv.). It is possible, however, that though Man and the Isles were politically separated, Man continued under Drontheim till 1458, when by bull of Pope Calixtus it was placed under York. Münter, quoted by Robertson, *Christian Church*, vol. ii., p. 276, says that Nidaros and York contended as to jurisdiction over Sudreys, but no trace can be found of this.

³ There were also several minor political convulsions, such as

As proofs of this, it may be mentioned (1) that, in 1349, copies of a letter of Pope Clement VI. to William the Sodor bishop-elect, were sent to the Archbishop of Nidaros, to the "noble Robert Steward, styled Seneschal of Scotland, Lord of the Isle of Bute, in the Sodor diocese," and to "our beloved son, the noble John Macdonald, Lord of Isla, in the Sodor diocese";¹ (2) that Pope Urban V., writing to this same William in 1367, spoke of a *nobilis mulieris Mariæ de Insulis . . . tuæ diæcesis*, who was a daughter of the above-mentioned John, here styled "Lord of the Isles"; (3) that, in 1374, copies of a letter of Pope Gregory XI. to John, bishop-elect of Sodor, were sent to "the illustrious King Robert of Scotland" and the Archbishop of Nidaros, as well as to "William King of Man";² (4) that a MS. *codex in the Vatican*, written about 1400, contains the words *Sodorensis in Noruegia et prouincia Nidrosiensis*,³ showing that the connexion of Sodor with Norway still continued.⁴ Another point relating to this

the division of the Isles between Somerled and Godred, in 1156, and a somewhat different division between Somerled's son Reginald and Reginald of Man in 1187. It is curious that in these divisions the Manx kings retained the distant Hebrides, while surrendering most of the islands between them and Man.

¹ "Vatican Archives," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 336-43.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 378-81.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii., p. 258.

⁴ Archbishop Moran writes in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1876): "In a MS. of the fifteenth century, a sort of register-book of the fees paid to the Roman Church, there occurs under the head of 'Norway,' the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, to which is added the Church of St. Columba, of the Isle of Iona, two bezants yearly." Keith says that the dioceses were separated in

subject, *i. e.* the exact application of this title *Sodor*,¹ which has also been a matter of much controversy, may be briefly discussed here. The title of *Sodor* seems to have been perpetuated in connexion with Man by the fact, which the recent discovery of a modern transcript of a bull of Pope Gregory IX., dated 1231,² places beyond a doubt, that Peel Island was also called Sodor—in the words of the bull, *Holme, Sodor vel Pile vocatum*, “Holme (Island), called Sodor or Pile.” In a charter of Thomas, Earl of Derby, to the Bishop of Sodor, dated 1505, these words are repeated; but this, which, previously to the above-mentioned discovery, was the first mention of *Sodor vel Pile* or *Pele*, might have been explained by the argument that, the old diocese having so long ago passed away, the true meaning of *Sodor* had been forgotten, and that, by way of getting an application for the name, it had been given to this little island of Peel. But this explanation will not now serve, for in 1231 it was a title given in a formal document of the time of Scandinavian rule, and when the Scandinavian language must have been used by at least the ruling class. The true explanation appears to be that Peel Island, being the seat of the cathedral of the diocese of Sodor, took

Exact applica-
tion of
“Sodor.”

1395, but his authority is very doubtful (*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1802).

¹ But though Sodor is almost certainly the correct name for this diocese, it will be more convenient, now that our readers are placed in possession of the facts of the case, to speak of it as Man only, as the available information about the other isles forms a scarcely appreciable part of the whole.

² See p. 45.

its name from the diocese instead of giving it to it, as is usually the case. For it is not likely that Sodor was the original name of an island to the west, not to the south, of another. Its earliest name seems to have been the Celtic *Peel* or *Pile*, meaning "fort," so called, no doubt, from the ancient round tower on it. Then the Norsemen called it Holme (O.N. *holmr*), their usual name for an island at the mouth of a river. Later still, as we have seen, the ecclesiastical name of Sodor was given to it, and in all formal secular documents, after 1505, relating to it these three names are recited. Having thus accounted for the permanence of the name Sodor, it will be interesting to trace how Man became associated with it. The modern name of the bishopric of Man, "Sodor and Man," seems to have arisen from a mistake of a legal draughtsman in the seventeenth century, who was ignorant that Man was ecclesiastically called Sodor. It would appear that by the latter part of the sixteenth century the terms Sodor and Man had become interchangeable, for in a document of Queen Elizabeth's, dated 1570, mention is made of "the bishopric of the Island of Sodor or Man." In 1609, a grant of the Isle of Man was made to William, Earl of Derby; and, in the document conveying this grant, all the possible titles of the bishopric are recited with a precision which leaves no loophole for error: "The patronage of the bishopric of the said Isle of Man, and the patronage of the bishopric of Sodor, and the patronage of the bishopric of Sodor and Mann." The then bishop, Philips, at once took advantage of this new title, as in the following year he signs himself "Sodor et de Man."

In 1635 Bishop Parr is called "Bishop of the Isle of Man, of Sodor, and of Sodor and Man." No signature of his can be found, but his successors, up to the time of Bishop Levinz, who was appointed in 1684, usually signed themselves "Sodorensis," occasionally "Sodor and Man," but since 1684 the signature has been either "Sodor and Mann" or "Sodor and Man." The full title of the see at the present day is "Bishop of the Isle of Man, of Sodor, of Sodor and Man, and of Sodor of Man," which accentuates the application of the name Sodor to Peel Island. We find, therefore, in summing up our case, that the ancient Scandinavian name of the diocese of the kingdom of Man and the Isles was Sodor; that this name Sodor seems to have been given to Peel Island as being the seat of the cathedral of the diocese, and that, at a later date, when it was forgotten that Man had been called Sodor, both titles were made use of to adorn the dignity of the modern bishopric. Such in brief is the conclusion we have arrived at with reference to this much-disputed question.¹

In resuming the course of our narrative, we may note that Olaf I. died just as this change of metropolitan was initiated, and that ^{Godred} succeeds Olaf. he was succeeded by his son Godred. Olaf was evidently in good odour with the monks, who spoke

¹ The ancient armorial bearings of the see were, according to Keith's *Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, *Azure*, St. Columba at sea in a cock-boat, all proper in chief a blazing star, *or*. The present arms are on three ascents—the Virgin Mary, her arms extended between two pillars, *dexter* a church, in base the three legs. The whole being on an ornamental shield, surmounted by a bishop's mitre.

of him as "a pious prince, a great propagator of Christian knowledge, a benefactor to the Church, beloved of both God and man."¹ It is a significant token of the change referred to that the first bishop of the re-constituted diocese was a Norwegian, Reginald, and we are told that to him "the incumbents in Man gave the thirds of the churches that they might thence be free from any episcopal exaction." This was a great step towards the consolidation of the

The Bishop
probably
becomes a
resident in
Man.

Church in Man, as the bishop, holding property there, would probably become a resident, visiting the other isles occasionally. It should also be observed, that the occurrence of the word "incumbents" shows that there was a regular non-monastic, or secular clergy settled in the isle with fixed incumbencies.² From this time till 1203 there is no important event recorded in the history of the diocese; but, in that year, the monastery of Iona, which had fallen into the hands of the Benedictine order, was taken under the protection of the papal authority by the powerful and ambitious Innocent III., for which privilege

¹ "Vat. Arch.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 285-8.

² Perhaps we may place the formation of our modern parishes, viz.: Bride, Jurby, Maughold, Lonan, Conchan, Braddan, Santon, Malew, Arbory, Rushen, Patrick, Marown, German,¹ Michael, Andreas, the church of which was dedicated to St. Andrew, Ballaugh, the church of which was dedicated to St. Mary, and Lezayre, the church of which was called Kirk Christ² and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, at this period.

¹ For the dedication of this and the preceding parishes see ch. i., and *Manx Names* (A. W. Moore), pp. 204-213.

² It would be interesting to know why the two churches in Man dedicated to the Trinity, Rushen and Lezayre, were called Kirk Christ. We may note that Christ Church cathedral in Dublin is similarly dedicated.

they had to pay two bezants yearly. This is notable as showing the increased influence of Rome, which was still more clearly ^{Increasing power of the Pope.} demonstrated when, in 1219, King Reginald, in imitation of his over-lord, King John of England, offered his kingdom to the pope, and received it back in fief, subject to a yearly tribute of ten marks;¹ and when, in 1223, he and his dominions were taken "under the protection of the ^{His first use of it.} blessed Peter."² The earliest action of the pope in his new position as regards Man was to exhort his new vassal to provide lands for houses for the clergy of certain churches in his realm which were without any.³

Whether Olaf II., who became king in 1226, approved of these arrangements with the pope, we know not, but it seems probable that he made no protest, as, from this period, there is a distinct increase of papal assumption of authority in the affairs of the Sodor diocese. Of this we have an early proof from a bull issued by Pope Gregory IX. in 1231, ^{Bull of Pope Gregory IX.} to Bishop Simon, in which he decreed that all the possessions of the Church of Sodor which he enumerated were to "remain to you and your successors for ever . . . also the third part of the tithes"⁴ from Man and the other Sodor isles. He also

¹ Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 290-4.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 301-3.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 299-300.

⁴ This bull, of which the original is not known to exist, is preserved in a modern transcript (c. 1600), which was discovered by Bishop Bardsley at Bishop's Court in 1888. It was published

decreed that no one should "possess by right of inheritance the cemeteries of the churches and ecclesiastical benefices; but if any one shall have appropriated them, let ecclesiastical or canonical censure restrain him. Moreover, that which by the common consent of your Chapter, or the more (?) sensible (*sanioris*) section of the Council,¹ shall have been canonically ordained by you or your successors in your diocese, we wish to remain ratified and secure. Moreover, we forbid any one from admitting to office or ecclesiastical communion those who have been excommunicated or suspended, and any one from venturing to contravene a decree canonically promulgated. . . We establish also the authority of the Sacred Canons, to wit the following: that no bishop or archbishop, without the consent of the Bishop of Sodor, should hold conventions, undertake the trial of cases ecclesiastical, or deal with matters of the Church, except he be empowered by the Roman pontiff or legate; in the churches also of the Sodor diocese, which do not belong to others by proper right, that no one venture to institute any cleric, or depose him, or deprive a priest without the consent of the diocesan. We decree also that in the election of your episcopal successors no violence, no influence of king or prince intervene; nor in the promotion of bishops let *any*² one obtain

by the writer, with notes, in the *Historical Review* of January, 1890.

¹ The newly-established chapter (see p. 60) is here recognized, but we do not know what body is referred to by the title Council (*Concilio*).

² Literally, "every one."

the office of the prelacy, but let that man be set over the vacant see, whom those to whom the right of election properly belongs shall have judged most suitable by his learning and character, the canonical form in election having been observed. Clerics also and your tenants wishing duly to enjoy the liberty of your diocese, let no king, or prince, or lord venture to harass such by unlawful exactions. We decree therefore that no one at all shall cause annoyance to the aforesaid Church, or take its possessions, or retain them if taken, or mulct them or harass them; but that all things be preserved intact for the use of those for whose government and support they were granted, saving however the authority of the Apostolical See."

This "authority of the Apostolical See" was, as we shall find, to become more powerful in Man during the following century.

We have now to record an important step in the organization of the Sodor Church, viz. the holding of a diocesan synod. This ^{Bishop Simon.} synod was held at Kirk Braddan, under the presidency of Bishop Simon, in 1229,¹ when a number of ecclesiastical statutes were enacted. The more important of these were: (1) that the fee for proving a will was not to exceed thirty-two pence; (2) That the effects of intestates were to be administered subject to the will of the diocesan, or, in his absence, of the

¹ This year was a remarkable one for the holding of a synod, if we are to believe the *Chronicle*, that in it "scarcely a single inhabitant was left" in Man. For statutes see *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 176—182.

vicar-general; (3) That mortuary dues were to be levied. We also find the tithes on live stock, grain, beer, and woven cloth specified.

And now, for the first time, there is a record of church building in Man, as, according to the *Chronicle*, Bishop Simon began to build "the church of St. German," which became the St. German's Cathedral. cathedral of the diocese.¹ As its site he selected what was probably considered the most sacred place in Man, *i. e.* the Island of St. Patrick, off Peel, where there was already a church dedicated to that saint. We have no contemporary description of the building, but as much of it remains at the present day, we can form an idea of what it was like. About forty years ago it was described as follows²:—"In its Description of general contour, and in the red sandstone it. which forms its material, it is strikingly like Carlisle Cathedral. . . . It is a small cross church with central tower, but without aisles or porches. . . . The east window is a small, plain, unequal triplet, with interior drip-stone. On the north side of the chancel are five lancets, also quite plain, under them two arched recesses. . . . The arrangement of the south side is the same as that of the north, except that under the fourth light is a door leading down by a passage concealed in the thickness of the wall to a crypt, barrel-vaulted, and diagonal-ribbed from thirteen short shafts. . . . The arches which support the

¹ Simon probably built the choir only, the nave being of the Middle-Pointed period.

² Rev. J. M. Neale, *Ecclesiological Notes*, pp. 29, 30. London: 1848.

tower are somewhat later than the choir ; they are of two orders, and seem Early Middle Pointed ; but the sandstone is so much worn that it is impossible to speak certainly. The east window of the north transept was Middle Pointed, and seems to have had two lights. The north is the same, except that it has a plain door beneath it. The west is a lancet. The east window of the south transept resembles that of the north, except that it is not in the centre of that side, but more to the south. The south window is the same also, only it has no door under it, and is not in the middle, but to the east ; above it in the gable is a small window of two lights. The west side has a lancet and a door, which, as leading up from the sea steps, was the principal entrance to the cathedral. On the left hand, inside, is a circular benatura. The nave was also Middle Pointed. It has two blocked windows on the north ; on the south four arches of construction, perhaps intended for a contemplated aisle, with four two-light obtuse-headed windows in them ; the tracery has quite perished. The tower is short and squat, with a square belfry turret at its south-west angle. A heavy corbel-table runs round the transepts."

In 1871 the débris was removed from the crypt, and regularly built pilasters, twelve on each side, with projecting and chamfered base and cornice, were displayed, also two doorways and a loophole for light. In one of the recesses above referred to the bones of a man were found, which were conjectured to be those of Bishop Simon himself.¹ Browne

¹ But this is very improbable.

Willis, in his *Survey of the Cathedral of Man*, in 1727, gives a plan showing the bishop's throne on the south side of the chancel, the lord's seat at the north-west corner, and the officers' seat at the south-west corner. He describes it as "a plain structure, erected in the shape of a cross, with a tower in the middle, and consists of two single isles (*sic*) crossing each other, which are no more than nineteen foot in breadth, without pillars. The length from east to west is a hundred and thirteen foot and an half, and from north to south sixty-six foot and an half. In the tower (which stands upon four arches, sixteen foot and an half wide, and is ornamented at top, with overhanging or corbelled battlements, in nature of a castle) is neither bells nor windows."¹

In connexion with the cathedral, Bishop Simon established a chapter, which seems to have been a small body, probably composed of the nominees of Furness and Rushen, and not of the representatives of the clergy.

Of other ecclesiastical buildings in Man erected at this period, there are still some remains, viz. the west porch and front of Balaugh (old church), in the Romanesque style, which, however, is not actually old work, but an imitation of it in the early eighteenth century; in the First Pointed style, the Crossag or abbey bridge of Rushen (the remains of the abbey itself being of later date), and the chapel of St. Michael, Langness. It would seem that the Manx churches still continued to perpetuate the general characteristics of the ancient *keeills*,

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 131.

though they were on a larger scale. There was the same absence of aisles, apses, and towers, the usual proportions being from sixty to seventy feet long, and from sixteen to twenty feet broad. In addition to the churches, there are other Christian monuments, viz. the sculptured tomb-stones (eighty-four in number at the present day),¹ nearly the whole of which were erected during this period. And we may note, that "the Isle of Man probably possesses a larger number of early Christian sculptures than any other portion of Great Britain having an equal geographical area."² Of these stones or slabs, about one-fourth have inscriptions, which are in the Old Norse language. In shape they "are in general rectangular, sometimes having the upper corners rounded off, and sometimes the whole head in what has been called a Wheel-cross. Occasionally the spaces between the limbs and the surrounding circle are pierced, and, in a few instances, the slab is itself cruciform. Usually both faces are sculptured, and in all cases the cross is the chief, if not the only feature. This is of the type known as 'Celtic,' *i. e.* a modified Maltese cross within a circle, but having the shaft prolonged and the other limbs generally projecting slightly beyond the circle."³ In the ornamentation of these slabs "a regular development may be observed from the most simple Plait and Twist to the most complex and beautiful geometric designs,

¹ According to Kermode, *Manks Crosses*.

² Romilly Allen, "Early Christian Monuments of the Isle of Man," in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xliii., p. 240.

³ Kermode, *Manks Crosses*, p. 4.

and from the geometric to the zoomorphic. A striking feature is the realistic and admirably drawn forms of birds and beasts of the chase." ¹

In 1266 came the cession of Man and the Isles Man ceded to by Norway to Scotland (though Scotch Scotland. rule was not established till 1275), and with it the advowson of the bishopric, "saving however in all things and entirely the right jurisdiction and liberty of the Church of Drontheim, which it has in respect of the bishop and Church of Man." ²

Of the bishops of the diocese during this period The Bishops. very little is known. The first of them Roolwer. was Roolwer,³ already mentioned, who was buried in Maughold churchyard. His suc-

cessor, William, is a name only, "but after William. William in the days of Godred Crouan, Hamond, son of Iole, a Manxman," was bishop.

Hamond or If the *Chronicle* is right, Hamond must Wimund. come in before 1095. A bishop of similar name, Wimund, but of English birth, is said by the York historians to have been consecrated between

Wimund's 1109 and 1114 by Thomas II., Arch- extraordinary bishop of York.⁴ If we suppose that career.

Thurstan (1119—1139) was the consecrator rather than Thomas, we can accept the story

¹ Kermode, *Manks Crosses*, p. 3.

² Johnstone, "Antiq. Celto-Norm.," *Manx. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 323-33.

³ When no special reference is given to a bishop's name, it is to be understood that he is mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

⁴ "Dictus Wimundum Thomas sacrat ille secundus," *Hist. Ebor.*, MS. Cotton. Cleopatra C. 4. Printed by Raine (Rolls Series), ii. 462. See also T. Stubbs ap. Twysden, *Dec. Scriptt.* p. 1713.

told about Wimund, by William of Newburgh, the chronicler, who knew him personally. He was the son of a peasant, and was educated as a chorister at Furness Abbey, which was founded in 1127. In due course he took holy orders, and displayed such intellect and eloquence that he was sent by the abbot with some monks to occupy the newly-established (in 1134) monastery in Man. By these qualities, combined with his suave and jovial manners and great stature, he so captivated the Manx that they elected him as their bishop.¹ And now began the marvellous part of his history. He laid claim to the earldom of Moray, assuming the name of Malcolm Mac Heth, and asserting that he was the earl's son.² He then ravaged south-western Scotland with fire and sword, and, with the help of the thane of Argyll, whose daughter he married, he compelled the King of Scotland to surrender to him the southern

¹ *Hist. Rer. Anglic.*, lib. 1, cap. xxiv., Rolls Series.

² King Olaf I. seems to have made an attempt at this period (1134-40) to introduce another bishop, Nicholas, during the life of Wimund; it was, however, repelled by the Church of York. This we gather from two undated documents in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 269-73), which purport to be from Olaf to "T, Archbishop of York," and from the same to the "Dean and Community of York." In the first letter, the king states that he and the people had decided to elect a bishop from the Furness community, and in the second he threatens pains and penalties if "Nicholas, our bishop elect, consecrated by the hands of your Archbishop," is not sent to Man. We ascribe these documents to the above period, as they cannot refer to the bishop of 1210-17, or the bishop of 1224 (see pp. 55-6), both called Nicholas, Olaf II. not being king till 1226, and, moreover, there is no mention of Dronheim, the then metropolitan of Sodor and Man. The whole subject is, however, very obscure. (See *Chronicle, Manx Soc.* vol., xxii. pp. 239-40.)

portion of his kingdom. He treated his subjects with such severity that they took an opportunity of seizing him when he had only a slender escort; they then blinded and mutilated him and shut him up in the monastery of Byland, where he told his story to William of Newburgh and where he died. It is not likely that such a personage bestowed much attention on his insular diocese.

Of John, the next bishop, nothing is known, except that he was a Cistercian of Savigny, and

John. that he was consecrated by Henry Murdac, who was Archbishop of York between 1151 and 1153.¹

Gamaliel. He was followed by the equally obscure Gamaliel or Gamelin, who was consecrated

by Roger, Archbishop of York.² Next in order comes

Reginald. Reginald, the first of the Sudreyan bishops mentioned in the Icelandic annals, which

would indicate that he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim. In 1158, King Godred was expelled by Somerled, to whom the introduction of a

Christian. bishop called "Christian of Argyll" was probably due. This bishop may possibly

have been identical with the Christian of Whithern, who presided over the Church of Galloway from 1154

Michael. to 1186. On Godred's return, six years

later, Christian would seem to have disappeared, and then "Michael of Man, a person of irreproachable life and distinguished merits, a monk

¹ *Chron. Norman.* (Duchesne), p. 986; *Hist. Ebor.*, MS. Cotton. Cleopatra C. 4. Raine, *Historians of York*, ii. 462. Matthew Paris calls him "Secundus episcopus Moinæ Insulæ" (Ed. Luard, ii. 188). He is not mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

² Cleopatra C. 4.

in deed as well as in word, received the episcopacy." He died in 1203,¹ "at a good old age." His successor was probably Nicholas, seemingly the Koli mentioned in the Icelandic annals,² who attended a Lateran Council in 1215, "died in 1217," and "was buried in Ulster in the monastery of Bangor." After him "Reginald, a nobleman of the royal race," nephew to kings Reginald and Olaf, was consecrated bishop. As will be seen from the following incident related by the *Chronicle*, he seems to have been a man of considerable strength of character : "After some days, Reginald, bishop of the Isles . . . came to the Isles to visit the churches. Olaf went to meet him with great alacrity, and was glad of his arrival, for the bishop was son of Olaf's sister, and ordered a great banquet to be prepared. Reginald, however, said to Olaf, 'I will not hold communication with you, brother, till the Catholic Church has canonically released you from the bonds of an unlawful marriage.' " This bold spirit seems to have inhabited a feeble frame, for we are told that "Labouring under constant infirmity, but never yielding to fatigue, giving thanks to God, he breathed his last, witnessing by his life to his faith, and was buried in the Abbey of St. Mary of Rushen." In 1219, there is mention in a papal bull, but not in the

¹ The *Chronicle* places his death in 1193, but Munch, probably correctly, conjectures that it should be 1203. The succession of bishops at this period (1193—1226) is so uncertain, and the whole question is so uninteresting to the general reader, that the student is referred to the notes in the *Chronicle of Man*, in vol. xxii. of the Manx Society's publications, pp. 240-2.

² Torfeus's *History* (A.D. 1700), p. 154.

Chronicle, of a bishop of Man, name unknown, who was elected by the monks of Furness and consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin. King Reginald, however, declined to receive him, and the pope consequently ordered the Bishop of Carlisle and Pandulf, his legate, to see him righted.¹ This is almost certainly the Bishop N[icholas] who, in 1224, had "been compelled for a long time past to exile himself from his church, and cannot return thither, the lord of the land and others being altogether opposed to him."² In consequence of this, the pope ordered the Archbishop of York to grant him permission to render up his bishopric, "if it should appear expedient so to do."³ This must have been done, as, in 1226, he signed as witness to a charter, *Nicholas quondam* (formerly) *Mannix et Insularum Episcopus*.⁴ According to the *Chronicle*, Reginald was succeeded by John, son of Herfare, "who, through a melancholy accident, and the negligence of his servants, perished by fire, and lies buried at Jerewos (? Jerveaux) in England."

Then came, in 1226, Simon of Argyll, who was
 Simon. evidently a man of considerable ability, and, according to the *Chronicle*, "of great prudence and learned in the Holy Scriptures." We have already seen how he built a cathedral, estab-

¹ Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta," No. 31, p. 14, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 296-8.

² Add. MSS., *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 67-8.

³ It must not be supposed that this application to the Archbishop of York was intended to exclude the rights of the metropolitan, for there was probably at this time an arrangement with him that, owing to the great distance of Man from Norway, such matters should be referred to York or Dublin (see note 3, p. 57).

⁴ *Surtees Soc.*, ii., 92. *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii., p. 242.

lished a chapter, and held an important synod. He was also entrusted with the care of the diocese of Lismore (Argyll), "which, on account of the evilness of the times, had fallen into great poverty."¹ In 1236, he prayed to be released from this additional charge, as he was unable "owing to his many infirmities to carry on the care of both sees,"¹ and his request was acceded to. If we can believe Bishop Wilson, who, however, quotes no authority, he had his palace at Kirk Michael,² and, therefore, probably on the site of the modern Bishop's Court. We know nothing of the latter part of his episcopate, and even the time of his death is uncertain. For, in 1244, a bull was issued by Pope Innocent IV. to the Archbishop of York for the election of a bishop "in the diocese of Sodor,"³ while the *Chronicle*, under 1247, records that "in the same year died Simon, of blessed memory, bishop of the Isles, on the last day of February at the church of St. Michael the Archangel," that "he was buried in the Island of St. Patrick, in the Church of St. Germanus, which he himself commenced," and that his death occurred "in the 18th year of his episcopacy, at a good old age." But, if his tenure of the see commenced in 1226, and he held it for eighteen years, his death must have taken place in 1244, which, therefore, must be

¹ Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 308.

² "At his palace at Kirk Michael," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 123.

³ This was done by leave of the bishop of Nidaros (Drontheim), "because the church of Nidaros is very remote from the church of Man, and separated from it by a most dangerous sea." See "Diplomatarium Norwegicum," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 309-10.

considered the more probable date, though the *Chronicle* states that the diocese was vacant for six years only, and that Bishop Richard was not appointed till 1253.

Laurence, who had been archdeacon, had been elected to succeed him, but was drowned together with the king and queen on his way home from Norway, whither he had gone for consecration. It would seem

Vacancy of that during the next five years no bishop
see. was elected, but whether this was due to the disturbed state of the kingdom or to the dispute¹ between the chapter on the one side and the clergy and the people on the other, does not appear. During this interval (1244, or 1247, to 1253) the Abbot of Iona appears to have ruled the see in the absence of a bishop, as, in the words of the faculty from Innocent IV., "the abbot of the venerable monastery of St. Columba in the Sodor diocese received the use of the mitre and ring."² In the year 1253,³ the foundation bull of the metropolitan see of Nidaros was renewed *in extenso*, and confirmed by Innocent IV. Later on in the same year, Richard, an Englishman, was appointed "Bishop of Sodor" by provision at Rome, and was consecrated there by the Archbishop of Nidaros.⁴ Four years later,

¹ See p. 60.

² Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 309-10.

³ The insertion of Stephen in the list of the Bishops of Man in 1253 (Le Neve, iii. 325) is wrong. The person referred to as being administrator of Lismore is almost certainly Simon of Argyll. See p. 57, and Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, p. 300.

⁴ "Vat. Arch.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 315-16.

he dedicated "the Church of St. Mary of Rushen in presence of Lord Magnus, King of Man and the Isles."

We have hitherto said nothing of the way in which these bishops were appointed. It would appear from a letter of King Olaf I. to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, of uncertain date, Election of bishops. but probably between 1134 and 1140,¹ that it was determined by the king's "decree and the decision of the people," that a bishop was to be elected from the Furness community. The precedent thus set seems to have been usually followed, as, if we may rely upon a charter,² dated 1203, as showing the general practice, it would seem probable that the monks of Furness chose one of their number as bishop, but that he could not be consecrated, unless he was approved of by king and people, as well as by the abbot and monks of Rushen.³ And yet Nicholas, the successor of Michael, in announcing his accession to the bishopric, declared that the election belonged of right to the monks of Furness Abbey, and, by his silence on the point, seemed to acknowledge no concurrent right of any other party.⁴

In 1219, Pope Honorius VI. spoke of "our beloved sons of the monastery of Furness, to whom belonged

¹ Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 269—271. See note 2, p. 53.

² *Cart. Duch. Lanc.*, 254.

³ This claim of the people to have a share in the election of their chief pastor tends to show that the landowners, at least, for the term "people" probably applies to them only, retained considerable rights, and that their kings were not despots but feudal superiors.

⁴ "Cart. Duch. Lanc.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 19, 20.

the election of the bishop of the Isles ;”¹ but, in the bull of 1231, the pope, while decreeing that “no violence, no influence of king or prince intervene” at the election, does not specify the electors.² In 1244, Pope Innocent IV. cautiously confirmed this supposed right of the Furness community, but only on condition that what they alleged was correct, which it certainly seems not to have been.³

In 1247 there was a fresh claimant for the privilege of electing the bishop in the shape of the new chapter, who chose Laurence,⁴ Archdeacon of Man, for that office.⁵ In doing this, the monks, of whom the chapter was probably entirely composed, seem not to have consulted the secular clergy and people of Man, who promptly protested against losing their ancient right of participation in the election by writing to King Harald, then in Norway. The king consequently refused to assent to Laurence’s consecration, until, in his presence, he should be elected by the clergy and people, in accordance with ancient custom. It does not appear by whom Richard, the next bishop,

¹ Théiner’s “*Vetera Monumenta*,” *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 296.

² See p. 46.

³ “*Diplomatarium Norwegicum*,” *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 309-10.

⁴ The fact that there is no record of any protest on the part of the Furness monks against his election by the chapter would tend to show that it was subordinate to them.

⁵ “To the Chapter of the Church of the Sodor Diocese . . . The Church of the Sodor Diocese having being bereft of its pastor, the metropolitan has at our behest appointed to the said church as bishop and pastor, Richard . . . We ask your body, therefore, and exhort you . . . to receive with cheerfulness the said bishop, &c. . . . In like manner, to the Clergy of the Sodor city and diocese” (“*Vat. Arch.*,” *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 315-16).

was elected ; but, says Munch, “ we may guess, with pretension almost to certainty, that the right of election continued some time to be a matter of dispute between the chapter and the other party, as we learn from the letter of Innocent IV. to the chapter in 1253, that he (Bishop Richard) was named by provision, a rather unfailing sign in those times of the election having been disputed and protracted beyond the proper time.” (We will follow the further course of this election dispute in Chapter III.)

It will be evident from what has been already stated, that during this period, especially during the latter part of it, the ecclesiastical power in Man, as in England, had been rapidly increasing, though it is not likely that such abuses occurred in the smaller country as in the larger ; for, as was said of a later period, the poverty of the isle was its best protection. We have seen how the possessions of the Church, especially those of the monks, had been increased from time to time by royal grants. In addition to those already mentioned, it is said to “ have received the lands of Escedala (Groudle and district) from Godred II., the lands of Ormeschan (Onchan) from Reginald II.,¹ and finally, in 1257, the Church obtained from Magnus not only additional lands and privileges, but for her bishop the right to hold a court for his own demesne with powers of life and death,² and

Increase of
Ecclesiastical
power during
this period.

¹ The cell and priory of St. Bees received lands between the Dhoon and Corna from an unknown donor probably at this period. See *Manx Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 229 (original authority unknown).

² But though he obtained these powers, it must be remembered

for her clergy freedom from "all service, secular exaction and demand, forfeiture and fine."¹ As regards the ordinary ecclesiastical courts, they were doubtless originally identical, as in England, with the civil courts, and, perhaps, the date of this document is also that of their separation from each other.

Briefly, then, the changes introduced into the Manx Church by its Scandinavian rulers seem to have been the placing it upon a territorial instead of a tribal basis, in other words, the substituting a parochial system and a diocesan episcopacy for tribal churches with monastic jurisdiction and functional episcopacy, and the introduction of the religious orders of the Church of Rome.

that he was a Baron of the Isle, and was therefore obliged to do homage to its king.

¹ Add. MSS., *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 89—92.

CHAPTER III.

THE RULE OF THE MONKS (1275—1406).

THE most marked feature of the Church History of Man during nearly the whole period between 1275 and the Reformation, is the supremacy of monkish influence, combined with the increase of papal authority. These influences, however, did not become paramount till after the death of the vigorous Alexander III. of Scotland, and even then they were checked for a time by the mighty Edward I. of England, who for a brief space held "the land of Man" ¹ in his "hands," ¹ and, as we learn incidentally, appointed vicars to the parishes of Arbory and Santon.¹ But, after this time, till the accession of Sir John Stanley, in 1406, the island fell into the hands of constantly changing rulers who, as far as is known, took no interest in their little dominion. It was, consequently, a time of anarchy, of which the monks of Rushen and Furness took advantage to increase their power to such an extent that they seem to have become practically independent of the civil government. After 1406, though still

Supremacy of
monkish
influence.

¹ "Rot. Scot.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 113.

powerful, they were curbed by the wise legislation of the Stanleys.

We will first trace the progress of this increase of papal and monkish power¹ during the period 1275 to 1406, bearing in mind that much the same process was going on in England simultaneously.

For it was during this fourteenth century that the Condition of the Church in England. Church there "had sunk to its lowest point of spiritual decay. The claim of firstfruits and annates from all ecclesiastical preferments, the assumption of a right to dispose of all benefices in ecclesiastical patronage, the imposition of direct taxes on the clergy, the intrusion of foreign priests into English livings and English sees, produced a fierce hatred and contempt of Rome which never slept till the Reformation."² And while the English clergy were thus severed from the papacy, "their own selfishness severed them from the nation at large. Immense as was their wealth, they bore as little as they could of the common burthens of the realm. The old quarrel over the civil jurisdiction still lingered on, and the mild punishments of the ecclesiastical courts carried little dismay into the mass of disorderly clerks. Privileged as they were against all interference from the world without, the clergy penetrated by their control over wills, contract, divorce, by the dues they exacted, as well as by their directly religious offices, into the very heart of the social life around them."³ Their moral

¹ It will be noticed that we speak of the power of the monks, not of that of the secular clergy, for it is clear that the latter were a poor and powerless body.

² Green, *History of the English People*, p. 229. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

authority was passing away, and they exerted no influence over the vice of the higher classes. The higher prelates were busy with the cares of political office, and were severed from the lower priesthood by the scandalous inequality between their revenues. "The older religious orders had sunk into mere landowners, while the enthusiasm of the friars had utterly died away, and left a crowd of impudent mendicants behind it."¹

Let us now see what indications there are of a similar state of affairs in Man. The first step towards the aggrandisement of the Church was to increase her income while making her discipline more severe, and these objects were attained by the enactment of thirty-four canons at a diocesan synod held at Kirk Braddan, under the presidency of Bishop Mark, in 1291. By these canons the various tithes were enumerated with much greater precision than they had been in the canons of Bishop Simon, and several new ones were added. Thus a fish tithe is found for the first time, also a tithe upon merchants and traders, smiths and other artificers. The offences to be followed by the penalty of excommunication were set forth, and the duties of the archdeacon in his visitation, together with rules of a very strict character concerning the conduct of priests, and the nature of their vestments, were laid down. An insight into the state of society at the time is shown by the prohibition of laymen and clergy from bearing arms in church and of the holding courts for the pleading of lay

¹ Green, *History of the English People*, p. 231.

cases on the Lord's day in churches or churchyards.¹

Another significant proof of the increasing power of the Church is the fact, that, at about this time, the Manx people were placed under an interdict for three years for disobeying Bishop Mark.² We may note also, that the great English abbey, already so powerful in Man, increased that power by the acquisition, in 1299, of the churches of St. Michael and St. Maughold,³ in addition to its already considerable properties, and we find its abbot holding the important office of custodian of the island. In 1334, visitation dues are mentioned for the first time, each church in Man being compelled to pay twenty shillings on such occasions. The herring tithe was in full operation, and strangers were compelled to pay it as well as natives. In 1350, Bishop Russell's synod passed several canons, which, though chiefly relating to the duties of the clergy, contained stringent penalties for being absent from church, and regulations for the repairs of churches by the parishioners, and of chancels by the rectors.⁴ In 1368, a seemingly clear case of oppression of the parochial clergy by the monks occurred. John Hugh, Vicar of the church of St. Lupus (Malew), complained to Pope Urban V. that the revenues of his church, worth £40 a year, had been retained by the abbot and community of the monastery of Rushen for their own use, and that out of this they had only

¹ See *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 182—201, for these canons.

² See p. 72.

³ "Chart. Furn." *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii.,

pp. 133-4.

⁴ *Manx. Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 202-10.

assigned six marks (£4) to him, and he stated that, at the time this arrangement was originally made, six marks would go further than twenty did at that time. He further stated, that the population of his parish had greatly increased, and consequently his duties had become more onerous, also that he could not "be properly maintained from the above-named allowance and support."¹ The pope referred the case to the Archdeacon of Man, the bishop having declined to interfere, being probably afraid of the monks. The result of the inquiry is unknown.

An interesting light is also thrown on the influences at work by the records of the methods of electing bishops at this period, which seem to have varied from those in vogue at an earlier epoch. Election of
Thus, in 1348, William Russell was bishops.
elected bishop "of the Sodor diocese by the clergy of the Island of Man in the cathedral church of St. German in Holm of Man."² And Clement VI., in writing to the bishop-elect with reference to this election, says, "Our beloved sons, the clergy of the Sodor Cathedral, city and diocese, to whom the election of the bishop when required is said to belong, in accordance with an ancient approved custom hitherto peacefully observed, assembling together . . . chose you at that time Abbot of the monastery of Rushen of the Cistercian order in the Sodor
D'ocese, to be the Bishop of the Sodor Apparent
Diocese; and this election they caused change in
election.
to be solemnly announced to the people; and you, at

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 387-8.

² *Chronicon Manniæ, Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii., p. 119.

the instance of the aforesaid, consented to the election, after having previously asked and obtained permission from your superior, our beloved son, the Abbot of Furness . . . and then you, doubting lest the provision for the said church might not be reserved to the Apostolic See, betook yourself to the said See, and caused the matter of the election to be laid before Us.”¹ The pope then approved the election and stated it to have been canonically carried out, “even although the provision of the said Sodor Church may have been specially or generally reserved by Ourselves or Our Predecessors.”¹ From this bull, it would seem that the position of the electoral parties had changed.² For there is no mention of the monks of Furness as electors, but merely of the Abbot of Furness as an assenting party; and none, directly, of the monks of Rushen, though it is probable, as their abbot was elected, that, as members of the chapter, they practically determined the election; the people were no longer electors, nor would it seem that the rulers of Man and the Isles had any share in it. The next election, that of John Donkan, was not really an election at all, but merely an appointment by the pope, as Gregory XI., in 1374, wrote to him, stating that, during the time William Russell presided “over the government of the Sodor Church, We, desiring that the said Church when it might happen to fall vacant should be placed through our ministry under a useful and fit person, thought proper to reserve

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 337-9.

² See chap. ii. pp. 59-61.

pecially Our own Ordinance and disposal for the said Church when that occasion should arise ; and declared that from the date of the decree any attempt to the contrary should be null and void.”¹ He then proceeded : “ After a careful deliberation had with our brethren,”² “ we fixed the eyes of our understanding upon you the Archdeacon of Down, . . . regarding whose literary acquirements, purity of life, goodness of morals, providence in spirituals and circumspection in temporals, and other meritorious virtues We have received commendatory testimony ; in favour of whom also our beloved sons of the Sodor Cathedral, city and diocese, by their letters patent, have humbly petitioned Us.”³

We have thus traced the election of the Sodor bishop through the various stages of election by the king, clergy, and people to election by the monks of Rushen, and finally to his appointment by the pope. Among other instances of interference by the pope in the affairs of this diocese, is his setting aside the election of an abbot of Rushen. First case of direct papal interference. It would appear that a certain William of Cockerham had become Abbot of Rushen, either by election or, if the bull of Urban V. in 1363 is to be relied on, by force. In this bull, the pope declared, in accordance with a decree of Innocent VI., that “ abbatial and other dignities and benefices ”⁴ could only be disposed of by the Roman Pontiff. He therefore ordered Roger, a monk of Furness, to

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 394.

² *Ibid.*, p. 395. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-3.

be appointed to Rushen in the place of William. Again, in 1376, during the absence of Bishop Donkan, Gregory XI. instructed the Archdeacon of Man, with two others, to decide an ecclesiastical case in Man,¹ and, on the archdeacon's ruling being appealed against, the pope appointed the Bishop of Lismore (Argyll) to decide the case;² and, in 1377, the same pope confirmed an appointment made to the church of St. Moliwe (Malew) by "John Lord of Isla,"³ whom he states to be "the true patron of the said parochial church, in peaceful possession (of the right⁴) or quasi-right of presenting the rector to the said church."³

We must also bear in mind, in estimating the power of the pope and monks in Man, as compared with England, at this period, that in the smaller island there were no "Constitutions of Clarendon" which restricted the privileges of the clergy; no "Statute of Mortmain," by which so much property was prevented from passing into the hands of the Church; no "Statute of Provisors," which ordained that "Kings and all other Lords are to present unto benefices of their own or their ancestors' foundations, and not the Pope of Rome;" and no "Statute of Præmunire," which declared that all who sued for

Conditions to be remembered in estimating the pope's power in Man.

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 387-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 401-3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-6.

⁴ The words in brackets are not in the text, which reads *in pacifica possessione vel quasi juris*, showing clearly that the omission of *juris* after *possessione* is merely a clerical error. It would be interesting to know how this right originated.

redress in the papal courts should lose the protection of the law of England and forfeit their goods to the State.

Of the actual state of religion in this priest-ridden isle during this period, we have no knowledge, unless the statement of Sacheverell, that, according to "the Scotch writers, Martholine, the king's almoner, who was sent over to take care of the business of religion," found it "wholly degenerate,"¹ is to be regarded as historical.

Actual state of
religion in
Man un-
known,

We may now give a brief account of the bishops who held office during this period :—

Bishop Richard died in 1275, the first year in which the Scotch actually took possession of Man, and King Alexander, quietly ignoring the ordinary procedure, set aside the Abbot of Rushen, whom the clergy and people of Man² had unanimously elected, and appointed Mark, a Galloway man. He then sent him with letters from himself, and with such as he had been able to extort from the clergy of Sodor, to the Archbishop of Drontheim for consecration.³ Mark, who, according to the *Chronicle*, "governed the Sodor diocese right nobly," seems to have been a man of considerable ability and distinction, being employed in various high and important offices. The first of these was a

Bishops.

Mark.

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 59.

² This would, probably, include Sodor also, though not specially mentioned.

³ We know that he was accompanied by several envoys, as their expenses are entered in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.

mission to Norway, probably in 1288.¹ In 1289, he was one of the guardians of the kingdom of Scotland,² and, in 1292, he was an auditor at the parliament held at Berwick in that year.³ Among other events

His Synod in in his life, we may note his having, in 1291
1291. held a diocesan synod ;⁴ his being summoned, in 1296, to make his allegiance to Edward I. of England ;⁵ and, in 1299, his appropriation to the abbey of Furness of the churches of St. Michael and St. Maughold.⁶ This action of his seems to have been called

in question, for he protested that these
He appropri-
ates revenues
of Michael
and Mau-
ghold
churches to
Furness. appropriations were "by consent of our clergy . . . confirmed and ratified without compulsion or exaction . . . or even fear of the said abbot (of Furness), although at the time of the appropriation

he had the custody of the Isle of Man."⁷ But, the very fact of his having considered it necessary to make this protest, renders it probable that "fear" of the abbot had some connexion with the transaction. It was probably in consequence of these appropriations, and of the increased ecclesiastical exactions, that Mark was, about this time, expelled from the island by the Manx, who suffered for their temerity by being placed under interdict for three years. At the end of this time, he was

¹ We find his expenses charged in Exchequer Rolls, Scotland, 1289.

² Fœdera, *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 106-7.

³ Palgrave, *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 118-20.

⁴ See p. 65.

⁵ "Rot Scot.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 132.

⁶ See p. 66.

⁷ "Chart. Furn.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 133-4.

recalled,¹ and, in consideration of the interdict being removed, the Manx submitted to a tax of one penny on every house with a fire-place.² The *Chronicle* tells us that "Mark was a liberal and courteous man," and that "he died at a good old age, when he had become blind; and was buried in the church of St. German, in the island of Holm." This probably occurred some time between 1302 and 1305, in which latter year his successor, Alan, also a Gallo-
Alan.
 way man, received a safe-conduct from Edward I. to visit "the isles of Inchegal."³ There is no record of Alan's election, but it would appear from the *Chronicle* that he was consecrated in Norway.⁴ The same record tells us that he "governed with credit the diocese of Sodor," and that he died in 1321.⁵ Here, however, we are confronted with a difficulty, as we learn from another source⁶ that, in 1317, "John, bishop of Sodor, being about to set out for the parts of Man in attendance upon the king and marquis,⁷ has letters of protection from the marquis,"⁸ so that, unless there is some mistake about the name,

¹ It does not appear by whom.

² This tax, called "the smoke-penny," has only recently been done away with.

³ Or more correctly, Insegal (Sodor), "Rot. Hib." (Not in *Manx Soc.*)

⁴ Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, says that he was consecrated by Jorund of Drontheim, and that he was buried at Rothsay.

⁵ February, 1320-1. Throughout this book the year is considered as beginning in January as at present.

⁶ "Rot. Hib.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 168. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 162-5.

⁷ Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray.

⁸ "Rot. Pat. Hib.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 168.

there would seem to have been two bishops of Sodor at the same time. Of the next two bishops, Gilbert McLellan and Bernard de Linton, Abbot of Arbroath, little is known in connexion with Man,¹ except that they were consecrated in Norway. In 1326, Gilbert sent meal to the king of Scotland,² and, in 1328, Bernard received a grant for the expenses "attending his election, and for his requirements in case he should be promoted to the said Sodor church."³ He died in 1333, and was buried at Kilwinning.⁴ Thomas, who

Thomas. is said to have succeeded in 1334,⁵ was

the last bishop appointed by the Scotch, whose rule ceased in that year. In 1341, he was, for some unknown reason, arrested on board ship at Carlisle, and sent to London by order of King Edward III., "to be examined touching matters concerning us."⁶ Three weeks later, Thomas, who, it would appear, was on his way to Rome, was set free, and all his goods and chattels, which had been seized,⁶ were handed over to him in consideration of the circumstance that "the said bishop and other men of the said land of

¹ There was probably a vacancy between Alan's death and Gilbert's appointment, as it is noted in the Scotch Exchequer Rolls, in 1328, that no tax had been received from the Manx clergy during the whole time of the vacancy of the bishopric, and, according to the *Chronicle*, he ruled only two and a half years.

² "Rot. Scot." In the same records, in 1328, there is mention of a payment to Cuthbert, brother of *domini Gilberti quondam episcopi Sodorensis*, on account of funeral expenses. Keith quotes his signature in 1327.

³ Reg. of Arbroath, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 334.

⁴ *Chronicon Manniæ*, notes, pp. 252-3.

⁵ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii., p. 253 (? authority for date).

⁶ "Rot. Litt. Claus.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 185-6 and pp. 187-9.

Man are in allegiance to us, and under our faith and peace.”¹ On the same day, the king took “the said bishop, his men and servants, and all his goods,”¹ under “special protection and defence, both when going to the aforesaid court, and in returning thence to his own country.”¹ Thomas died in 1348, and was buried at Scone.² In the same year, William Russell, “a Manxman,”

William
Russell.

Abbot of Rushen, was elected bishop. He was consecrated at Avignon by Bertrand, Bishop of Ostia, at the command of Pope Clement VI.³ With regard to this, the *Chronicle* remarks that “he was the first Sodor bishop-elect consecrated and confirmed by the apostolic see; for all his predecessors had been wont to be confirmed and consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim, that is the Metropolitan.” This, however, as we have seen, had not been invariably the case. But Pope Clement wrote at the same time to the Archbishop of Drontheim, stating that no prejudice to his metropolitan rights was intended by this election.⁴ The first act of the new bishop was to obtain leave from the pope to encumber his church and see with a mortgage to pay the “great and burdensome outlay for the successful carrying on of the affairs of the Sodor Church,”⁵ and, at the same time, he obtained leave from the same authority to permit some religious persons, who were forbidden, in accordance

¹ “Rot. Scot.,” *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 190.

² *Chronicon Manniæ*, notes, p. 253.

³ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 349-50.

⁴ *Vat. Arch.*, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 344-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-4.

with the statutes of their order, to eat meat, to do so.¹
 His synod in 1350.² In 1350, he held a synod. It is satisfactory to learn, from receipts for the payments to the Apostolic Chamber given to him by Stephen, Archbishop of Toulouse, that the bishop was able to pay off the mortgage on his see in a few years.³ In 1374, Bishop Russell died, and was buried at Furness,⁴ and John Donkan, who had previously been Archdeacon of Down, Nuncio and collector of papal revenues, was appointed in his place. He went to Rome for consecration. On his way home, he was taken prisoner, and kept in confinement at Boulogne till the end of 1376, when he was released on payment of a ransom. It is with a mention of the ceremony of his installation in St. German's cathedral, when he received "many very great offerings . . . at his first pontifical mass," that the *Chronicle* terminates.⁵ Doubtless a record

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 355. ² See p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-2 and 363-4.

⁴ *Chronicon Manniæ*, p. 121.

⁵ After the *Chronicle* ceases, till 1546 there is, in many cases, very considerable difficulty in deciding the succession of the bishops, and this difficulty is increased by the occasional impossibility of distinguishing between the bishops appointed to Man and to the Scotch Isles. Among the numerous writers who have compiled lists of bishops, we have selected the following, who are clearly the most critical and have made most use of original authorities. No bishop has been entered in our list who is not either approved by all of them, or whose existence is not certified by what would appear to be satisfactory evidence.

(1) Le Neve, John. London, 1716. "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; or a Calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales, &c., from the Earliest Times to 1715.* Corrected and Continued to the Present Time by Sir T.

was continued at Rushen till the dissolution of the abbey, more than a century and a half after this, but it has not been preserved to us. Bare and unsatisfactory as the *Chronicle* is, we are still worse off without it, as the information obtainable for many years after it ceases is of the most meagre description. Six years after his accession, Bishop Donkan seems to have got into some trouble with the pope, for, in 1380, a commission was appointed by Urban VI. to inquire into the allegation that he had kept back and gave no account of "rents, incomes, and revenues" ¹ belonging to the Apostolic Chamber. The result of this inquiry is unknown, but it seems probable that John Donkan was acting the part of a patriot in resisting papal greed and aggression; and, judging from the important trusts confided to him, it is clear that, whatever his conduct in this case, he was a man of considerable ability.²

Termination of the *Chronicle*.

Bishop Donkan gets into trouble with the pope.

Duffus Hardy, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, 3 vols., 1854, Oxon." This seems to be a careful and painstaking account, in which early authorities are sometimes quoted.

(2) Stubbs, Wm., M.A., Oxon, 1858. "*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum: course of Episcopal Succession in England from the Records and Chronicles of the Church.*" Bishop Stubbs may be considered as one of the most critical and exact of living English historical writers.

(3) Brady, W. Maziere. *Episcopal Succession*, 3 vols. 1876, Rome. In his preface he mentions having resided in Italy for a considerable period, and that he enjoyed unusual facilities for examination of books and MSS. in the Vatican and other public and private collections.

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 407-8.

² In 1388, he was asked by the Council of Richard II., King of England, to treat with the sons of John de Islay, late Lord of the Isles, regarding a treaty of alliance and commerce between

We nowhere, however, learn how he administered his diocese. He was translated to a see described as *Cathadensis* in 1392, and John Sprotton was provided to succeed him.¹ This is probably the "John, by divine permission, bishop of Sodor,"² who, with the Abbot of Rushen and the clergy, signed a declaration against the claim of Sir Stephen Lescrop to Man, in 1408. Towards the end of this period, in 1373, there is an event, viz. the foundation of an oratory of Franciscan Friars Minor in Man, which seems a curious one, when we remember that the Earl of Salisbury, then King of Man, was described by Walsingham as a despiser of canons, as one who laughed at the sacrament, and as a "fautor" (favourer) of the Lollards during his whole life. Possibly, however, he may have thought that the introduction of their bitter foes would tend to counteract the influence of the Cistercians at Rushen. This scheme is first mentioned in a letter of Pope Urban to Bishop William in 1367,³ informing him that the Earl of Salisbury had assigned a site in the village of St. Columba (Arbory), and that, if it were suitable,

Foundation of
a Franciscan
oratory at
Arbory.

them and England (*Vat. Arch.*, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 409-11); in 1393, he received payment from the royal treasury for charges and labour incurred by him in prosecuting certain affairs for the same king in the Isles (Issue Rolls, *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 211), and, in 1405, he was deputed to negotiate peace and alliance between England and Ireland on the one side, and Donald, Lord of the Isles, and John his brother on the other. (Foedera, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 412-13.)

¹ *Bullarium Ord. Prædic.* (3^o Boniface IX.) (quoted in a MS. letter from Bishop Stubbs).

² *Add. Chart.*, *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 248-50.

³ *Vat. Arch.*, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 382-4.

he had granted the provincial prior and brethren of the order of Minors the Province of Ireland permission to erect buildings there. They did so at a place variously called Bymaken, Beemaken, or Bowmaken, near the present parish church of Arbory. These buildings consisted of "a church or oratory, together with a bell-tower, cemetery, houses, and other necessary offices;"¹ but they were only to be built "provided that twelve brethren of the said order can be fittingly and properly maintained at the place; without infringing, however, on the rights of the parochial church, or of any other in any respect."¹ We hear but little of these monks; their property was a small one, and their influence was, therefore, probably equally small.² Such a foundation and such a preponderance of monkish power in Man at a time when Wycliffe was exercising great influence in England is very remarkable, and shows how isolated Man was.³

Of other ecclesiastical buildings at this Church buildings at this period. period, there are still in existence the nave of the cathedral and the church of St. Trinian.⁴ This church "is of the same type as all the Manx churches, having chancel and nave only, without architectural distinction between them, and western campanile. . . . It is clearly of early Middle Pointed date; and was

¹ *Vat. Arch., Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 382-4.

² This order of monks had arrived in England a century and a half before, when they were called the begging friars, and subsisted on the alms of the poor, not being allowed to possess either money or lands. But we hear nothing of them in Man till their status in these respects had changed. We may note that the prior of this foundation was not a Baron of the Isle, as its lands were part of the lord's manor.

³ See chapter i. p. 13.

⁴ Built perhaps about 1300.

probably built during the Scotch domination. The east window of two lights, and very acutely pointed, must have been pretty. On each side of the chancel was a one-light window. The priest's door is on the north. The nave is more ruinous, but appears to have had two one-light windows on the north, and one, besides the door, on the south. The west window was an ogee-headed lancet ; and the whole west end, with its double campanile, would do very well for a small simple church. The mass of rubble that supported the *mensa* of the altar still remains." ¹

From the end of this period also probably date the remaining buildings of Rushen Abbey.

¹ Neale, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION (1406—1539).

THE title of this chapter will perhaps seem an anachronism, but there can be no doubt that, in Man, as in England, there were attempts at reforming the abuses, as well as the doctrine, of the Church long before the period usually assigned to the Reformation. There is, however, a marked distinction between

Distinction
between Re-
formation in
Man and in
England.

the inception and progress of this reform in Man and in England. For, in Man, there is no trace of any such upheaval of popular opinion against the abuses of the Church as came about in England, owing to the influence of Wycliffe, towards the end of the fourteenth century. But, early in the following century, this attempt at reform in England was utterly put an end to, and the Church became more degraded than before, exactly at the time when, in Man, a reform of Church abuses began, though seemingly not of doctrine. We will endeavour to trace the progress of this reform, but before doing so, we will briefly point out what seems to us to be the reason of this contrast between the two countries. In England

the House of Lancaster, which was raised to the throne by a parliamentary revolution, and which rested its claims on a parliamentary title, had purchased the support of the Church by the promise of persecuting its enemies ;¹ while Man, on the contrary, was placed under Sir John Stanley, a ruler of strong Lollard sympathies, "a man who gave neither toleration nor *termon* (sanctuary) to ecclesiastics, laymen, or literary men,"² and who, whether he visited Man or not,³ would certainly have appointed a governor to carry out his ideas, and, as will be seen, his able son was of the same mind.

Let us, in order that we may more clearly understand the position, give a brief summary of the doctrinal and devotional opinions of these *Lollards*, or "Babblers," as they were nicknamed by the Church. They were—(1) denial of transubstantiation ; (2) objection to celibacy among the clergy ; (3) condemnation of clergy who held temporal offices ; (4) repudiation of image-worship as idolatrous ; (5) non-necessity of auricular confession.

It is not known whether or not Lollard principles penetrated to Man, but, whatever state of affairs prevailed there at the end of the fourteenth century, it is clear that, early in the fifteenth century it was under a rule as favourable to Lollard principles as that in England was adverse to them, although there is no

¹ This promise was speedily fulfilled, by passing the infamous statute *De heretico comburendo*, by means of which all obdurate sectaries could be brought to the stake.

² *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1414, p. 213.

³ This is not known.

trace of Manxmen having any objection to the doctrine of their spiritual rulers, but only to their exactions.

We have already seen, that, during the fourteenth century, the clerical power in Man, in the absence of its secular rulers, or through

Clerical power
in Man.

their indifference, had become very powerful. There were seven spiritual barons, *i. e.* the Bishop, the Abbots of Rushen, of Furness, and of "Bangor and Saball," the Priors of Whitherne and of St. Bede's, and the Prioress of Douglas, who, between them, held a large portion of land of the isle, as well as very considerable rights and privileges. No sooner did the second Sir John Stanley arrive in

Man, in 1417, than he proceeded to curb the power of these barons. His first step

Curbed by
Sir John
Stanley II.

in this direction was to obtain from his deemsters, or judges, assisted by the most experienced men in the isle, a statement of the ancient laws, and among them those which referred to the spiritual barons. One of these laws was to the effect that the barons living out of the island had forty days' notice, within which time, "if wind and weather served them,"¹ they should show by what right they held their lands, and then make their fealty. If they failed to do this, they legally forfeited their temporalities. Sir John Stanley seems to have left the island on this occasion without enforcing this law, but shortly after his departure, the commissioners left by him made an indenture with the deemsters and House of Keys on the subject of sanctuary, which these barons had the power of

¹ *Statutes*, vol. i., p. 4.

granting to felons and traitors, in the following words: "That the said twenty-four Keys of the Land, with the Deemster of Man, say and adjudge for the law of the land, that whatsoever liege Tenant or Tenants of the Lord of Man shall have committed a crime in any case of Felony or Treason, and shall have fled . . . from the Land of the Lord of Man into the Liberties of the Barons, and shall have been required by the Lord of Man or his ministers to return to the land and to a lawful trial, and if he or she excuse himself or themselves, not consenting to return thence, and if any of these Barons under the Lord of Man shall retain him, her, or them . . . then he shall forfeit to the Lord for every such offence of retention 60s., and shall answer for the body of the aforesaid transgressor at the prison of the Lord of Man, and this under

Right of Sanct- penalty or forfeiture of all his liberties
 tuary done possessed in Man."¹ This right of
 away with. sanctuary was one of the most potent

of priestly weapons, and so large and numerous were the spiritual baronies in Man, that, as long as it existed, Sir John Stanley was but the shadow of a king. The law in Man on this subject was thus in advance of that of England, where no steps were taken to stop this abuse till a much later date; and so Sacheverell, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, justly commented, "another law against sanctuary seems very remarkable considering the times."² In 1422, there was further legislation with a similar object, for in that year it was "given for law," that "if the bishop or abbot or any other receive an

¹ *Statutes*, p. 3.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 68.

outlaw after he is inlawed, without the Lord's special grace, he is to forfeit his temporality"; and, with reference to sanctuary, it was again declared that it did not "avail by the law of Man."¹ The following regulations passed at the same time also tended to place the Church completely in the power of the State: no baron was to take more than £5 out of the land, except in merchandise, on pain of forfeiture. This, if enforced, would have practically put a stop to the non-resident barons spending their rents out of the island. Neither bishop, nor abbot, nor baron was to receive any stranger or other person within their gate without the knowledge of the governor; the abbot was not to receive any resident monk or priest without the lord's licence, and if the clergy did any wrong to the *moar*,² they were to pay six shillings and eightpence, and if to the coroner, three pounds; and finally, in a Tinwald Court held at Reneurling, in August of the same year, the barons, in accordance with the law given in 1418, were summoned to do faith and fealty, and to show by what claims they held their lands. The "Bishop of Mann," the "Abbott of Rushen," and the "Prior (? Prioress) of Douglas" came, but "the Prior of Whithorne³ in Galloway, the Abbott of Furnace, the Abbot of Bangor, the Abbott of

Further regulations placing Church under State.

Spiritual Barons summoned to do fealty.

¹ *Statutes*, p. 8, &c.

² The collector of the lord's rates.

³ It is curious to note that, in 1604, the Provost of Whitherne made a claim to have his barony, that of St. Trinian's, restored, but in vain.¹

¹ From loose paper in civil records.

Saball, and the Prior of St. Beade, in Copeland, were called and came not; therefore they were deemed by the Deemsters, that they should come in their proper Persons within forty days, and if they came not, then to loose all their temporalities, to be ceised into the Lord's hands by the same Court."¹

We do not know whether the recusants came within this period or not, but, as the property of all these barons, except that of Furness, shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the lord, it would seem that the Abbot of Furness was the only one of them who put in an appearance.

The subordination of the spiritual barons to the lord is also shown by the following Customary laws showing subordination of barons. customary laws: When the abbey fence bounds the lord's property, the abbey tenant is to make up both sides, and "to leave as much earth . . . on the lord's side of the fence as he can cut joining his heel to the hedge and reaching his spade holding his foot thereon." If the lord's tenants wanted servants, they could take them from the barons. It would seem, too, that the abbey tenants had more privileges than the lord's, as, if the abbey tenant removed he could take away the roof of his house and all the doors and windows, "as well those that hang on iron ² hinges or otherwise," but the lord's tenant could not do this.³

Not only were the spiritual barons subjected to the lord, but they were also placed in the same position as regards the governor, for it was ordained that

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 20-1.

² This shows that the value of iron was then considerable.

³ MS. in Douglas Free Library.

"what man offendeth"¹ the Lieutenant "be punished as they that offend to the Lord."¹

This, considering that the lord rarely visited his insular realm, was a very

Power of
governor
increased.

necessary enactment. Having thus curbed the power of his spiritual barons, Sir John Stanley graciously confirmed the charter of Magnus to the Church, which, as we have already seen, conferred considerable powers upon it.²

In 1429, occurs the earliest mention in the insular records of a difficulty between the clergy and laity on the subject of Church dues, a difficulty which was to arise frequently in the future. In that year

First recorded
dispute be-
tween clergy
and laity.

the bishop, Pully, held a visitation at Peel, when certain persons were prosecuted for refusing to pay their dues to the Church. These persons, however, put in a counter-presentment that certain "particles"³ of land "ordained to the relief of poor Schollers" had been "dealt into other uses by the fault of the Bopp."⁴ They fortified their case by annexing a copy of the old

¹ *Statutes*, p. 5.

² See p. 61.

³ The following order, in 1403, is an instance of these grants of particles. "The King to all to whom, etc., greeting. Know that we have conceded of our especial grace, to Luke Macquyn, of the Island of Man, Scholar, certain alms called particles, in the island aforesaid, vacant, as said, and in our gift, and which alms are appropriated to the support of certain poor scholars of the island aforesaid, and which were given, confirmed, and conceded perpetually to the scholars by our predecessors, former kings of England; to have and to hold to the said Luke the alms aforesaid, as long as he shall remain a scholar for the benefit of the Church, and shall not be promoted."¹ This looks as if there was some educational foundation in Man for the benefit of the sons of the clergy.

⁴ *Statutes*, p. 24.

¹ "Rot. Pat.," *Manx Soc.*, vol. vii., pp. 223-6.

constitutions, which they said the bishop had broken, and they declared that they would not pay their dues till these abuses were corrected. The case was decided against them by a sworn enquest, set by the authority of the bishop, at the said visitation, but from this verdict they appealed to the lord, or his representative, the governor. The governor then asked the deemster what was the law of Man with regard to such an enquest as that appointed by the bishop which had "attempted the King's right and inheritance of his Land of Man, and his prerogatives, without his leave or his Lieutenant's."¹ The deemster replied that the action of the enquest was illegal. Upon this, the bishop's commissary pleaded guilty, as did the members of the enquest, while the traversers pleaded not guilty, and said that they would give themselves "to God, and the Countrey."¹ Then was "called and sworne"² an enquest of twenty-four, who gave as their verdict that the traversers were not guilty. Thus

the verdict of the national jury set aside
 Its result. that of the bishop's jury, and vindicated the supremacy of the civil over the canon law. This is all the more remarkable as, in England, the spirit of religious freedom had, temporarily at least, been utterly suppressed.

From 1429, till nearly the end of the century, Manx ecclesiastical history is almost a blank. The greater part of this period in England was occupied by the miserable wars of York and Lancaster, during which papal usurpation reached its culminating point, and

Blank in Manx
 ecclesiastical
 history, 1429-
 1499.

¹ *Statutes*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*

the national character of the English Church became almost extinct. It is impossible to discover what was the state of affairs in Man in this respect. For, though Pope Calixtus IV., in his bull of 1458,¹ by which "the cathedral church of Sodor in Man"² was made "suffragan to the church of York," stated that the appointment of the bishop of that see had been "hitherto reserved"² for the "apostolic appointment,"² yet this was no innovation, as it resembled the appointments of Bishops Russell and Donkan in the previous century; and, moreover, there is no record of any further attempt on the part of the popes to interfere with the internal affairs of the see, which, protected by its poverty and obscurity, seems, on the whole, to have enjoyed much greater liberty than its neighbours. There is, however, a curious but pleasant account of papal interest in the island recorded in 1459, when, in answer

Papal interest
in Man.

to a petition from "Thomas Stanley, Lord of the Isle of Man," we find a rescript from Pope Pius II., granting that "all those who shall dare to molest the said island shall be excommunicated."³ In his letter to the pope, Lord Stanley mentioned that Man "had from the remotest times been honoured by the relics of certain saints, and that it had been commonly called the Holy Island (*Insula Sancta*)."³

¹ It is curious that Polydore Vergil, writing in 1470, states that the see of "Sodorne" was subject to the primate of St. Andrews, and that "This bysshops see was placed in thile (*sic*) of Man which ys thought to be of the diocese of York," but then Vergil was notoriously inaccurate. (*Manx Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 78.)

² Reg. York, *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 20-3.

³ Theiner's, "Vetera Monumenta," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 414-21.

The next glimpse of Manx Church history is in 1499, and it is a significant one, because it shows both that the struggle between the laity, and the spiritual barons and monks, still continued, and that the former strove to protect the poor and oppressed parochial clergy from the exactions of the latter. The point at issue was a tax which pressed heavily on the parochial clergy as well as on the laity, viz., the payment of corbes, or death-bed presents,¹ which they were compelled to pay to the bishop. The question of the legality of these impositions was laid before the deemsters, who consequently summoned two juries, one of six clergymen and six laymen to fix the corbes, if any, to be paid by the clergy, and the other of twenty-four laymen to fix the corbes to be paid by the laity. The first jury found that the "Vicars of *Pencion*" ought not to pay any corbes, and that the "Vicars of *Thirds*" were only to pay them, "if they have them free."² The verdict of the second jury was, in effect, that the children of the deceased, whether men or women, were to have their best effects, leaving therefore only the inferior chattels to the clergy. It was also decided, at the same time, that the lord, not the barons, had the first right to the services of any stranger coming into the country; and, in 1501, a decision was given by the

The struggle
between
clergy and
laity con-
tinued.

Verdict in
favour of
laity,

and of the lord.

¹ It is clear from the name that these were originally voluntary bequests to the Church, though, according to the statutes of Bishop Simon (see p. 48), they were to be levied as a tax "justly due."

² *Statutes*, pp. 6—8. The date is wrongly given as 1419.

deemsters to the effect that, "No baron can take an enquest of the lord's tenants (except they bear barons' rent), or commit any of them within his liberties, or indict any without the governor's privity, upon pain of life and limb, it being against the lord's prerogatives."¹

But still, notwithstanding these arrangements, it seems probable that the power of the Church, in the absence of the Lords of the Isle, none of whom visited Man ^{But power of Church still considerable.} between 1422 and 1507, was not greatly diminished during this period. It is significant of this, that, in 1504, the Abbot of Rushen, John Farker, was also deputy-governor, and that, in 1505, Thomas, Earl of Derby, granted "all liberties of every kind anciently conceded to the same church,"² together with increased posses- ^{Increased privileges granted to it.} sions. On the other hand, the following *dictum* given, in 1514, by the deemsters with reference to appeals from the spiritual court, about which there were to be frequent disputes later, shows that the civil authorities were determined to maintain what they considered their rights—"If the lord take the case to himself, or commission his prime officers here to determine it, then it is called the Lord's Prerogative royal, for the spiritual court is not only to surcease in their proceedings, but also deliver up the party and cause to the lord;"³ and, in 1520, it was decided by them that "noe Barron can take an enquest of the Lo. tenants nor convict any of them within his Libertys, or arraigne them in his Court, upon paine of forfeiting

¹ *Rotul.* 1501.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 27—31.

³ *Lib. Scaccar.*

his Body and Goods to the Lord's mercy, being ag^t the Lord's prerogative, as appears by an ancient

Record in this behalfe."¹ By 1531, clerical exactions had again become a source of lay complaints, and consequently a commission had been appointed

to inquire into the whole question, and to receive evidence. It would appear that, as the result of these inquiries, the bishop and clergy had made certain claims with regard to the corpse presents, tithe ale, marriage money, and bishop's fees, which were controverted by the laity, who denied that the amounts of these taxes were as large as had been represented. In 1532, a compromise was arrived at on this subject, which was recorded in an indenture entered into by the clergy on the one side, and two men from each sheading, as representing the people, on the other. Each party argued their case before a Commission appointed by Edward, Earl of Derby, and consisting of the governor, receiver-general, auditor, captain, water-bailiff, deemster, and the receivers of Peel and Rushen Castle. By them it was decided: (1) that the executors

of those who had free goods (*i. e.* the property after paying all debts) to the value of twenty shillings, should pay to the Church eight shillings for mortuaries, and a fee of one shilling to the bishop for probate, and that the executors of those whose goods were worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay "the first part of the same goods,"² and for probate four pence; (2) that tithe for brewing ale and on

Agreement
between
clergy and
laity.

¹ *Rotul.*

² *Statutes*, pp. 28—31.

marriage presents should be abolished; (3) that the corpse payment for the recently deceased should be at the rate of this agreement; (4) that "the Commonalty shall reasonably agree with the Priest or Clerk doing divine service at Burialls or Weddings, . . . according to the old customs used in the said Isle."¹

This indenture greatly reduced the claims of the spirituality, and, a few years later, the existence of the monks, who, in Man, formed its most powerful section, was brought to an end. This The indenture
of 1532.

did not result from the English Act, passed in 1539,² for the general dissolution of monasteries and other religious houses, which Dissolution of
Manx religious houses. did not apply to the Isle of Man, but

simply by the arbitrary action of Henry VIII., by which the monastery of Rushen, the nunnery of Douglas, and the friary of Bymaken were vested in the Crown.³

Their property was at first granted to various persons, but, in 1610, came into the hands of the earls of Derby. Thus was one-third of the tithes which belonged to the abbey of Rushen diverted from its presumable use, *i. e.* the education of youth and the relief of the poor.⁴ Nothing is known of the result of the dissolution of the religious houses in Man. We are ignorant whether they had been well or ill conducted, and whether their influence on the Church in Man had

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 28—31.

² See ch. v. p. 97. Furness Abbey was dissolved in 1537 (*Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 36, 220-3), and Rushen soon followed (see p. 98).

³ For full particulars about dissolution of these houses, see Sir James Gell's notes, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xii., pp. 54—64.

⁴ See p. 35.

been good or bad. It is certain, however, that their removal must have been a loss to the poor, while it is probable that the parochial clergy went on much as before, and that the bishop, being deprived of the support of the pope and of the abbeys of Furness and Rushen, would be more under the influence of the civil power. Of doctrinal changes, as we have seen, there is no evidence, the probability being that they were very gradual. On this point we will endeavour to give some evidence in our next chapter.

With reference to the bishops of this period, our information is of a somewhat uncertain character.¹ In 1410, Richard Payl² is said to have been translated from Dromore to Sodor.³ He may possibly be identical with the bishop, Richard Pully, who is, in 1429, mentioned in the statute book as having defrauded "poor Schollers,"⁴ and as having been, at the time of his visitation at "Halland Towne" (Peel) in the same year, signally worsted by the civil magistrates in his attempt to grasp undue authority.⁵ In 1449, John Green was bishop, having obtained leave to hold his living of Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, *in commendam* on February 9 in that year.

¹ See note 5, p. 76.

² At this period Brady places "Michael 1422"; "Nicolas Episcopus Insulanus, 1428"; "Andrew Episcopus Sodorensis," and "John electus Sodorensis," but they are probably bishops of the Scotch isles. John Burgherlin, 1425, recorded both by him and Stubbs, who quotes Wadding, *Ann. Minor.*, must be regarded as doubtful.

³ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, i. 106.

⁴ *Statutes*, p. 24.

⁵ See p. 88.

"He acted as suffragan in Lichfield in 1452 . . . and soon after must have resigned his see."¹

His successor, Thomas Burton, a Franciscan, became bishop on September 25, 1455,² and made his will on February 18, 1458. It would seem that he must have resigned before that date as, according to the bull of Pope Calixtus, uniting the Church of Sodor to that of York, "Thomas"³ was on the same day (February 18) "bishop elect of the Church of Sodor,"³ and this Thomas must have been the Abbot of Vale Royal, called Thomas of Kirkham. He was bishop on June 21, 1458, and was alive in 1472.¹ According to Le Neve (Hardy), he died in 1480, but Dugdale places his death in 1475.⁴ In 1487, Huan or Hugh Hesketh, or Blackleach, was consecrated bishop. In 1505, he received a charter from Thomas, Earl of Derby, confirming all the lands and possessions of the bishopric, together with many important rights and privileges.⁵

Bishop Huan or Hugh must have died some time between Nov. 13, 1520,⁶ when he proved the will of his brother Richard, and the date of the appointment of his successor, John Howden, *i. e.* June 18, 1523.⁷

¹ *Reg. Sac. Ang.*

² Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, Rome 1731.

³ "Reg. York," *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 20.

⁴ Stubbs, on the authority of the *Monasticon*, puts a Bishop Richard Oldham, Abbot of Chester, after Thomas of Kirkham; as does Browne Willis (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 137), but he must be regarded as uncertain.

⁵ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 29—31.

⁶ "The Succession of Spiritual Jurisdiction in every See of the Church of England," J. W. Lea; also MS. letter from Bp. Stubbs.

⁷ "1523, June 18, John Howden providit Ecclesiæ Sudoren,

This John Howden is almost certainly the "John, Bishopp of Sodorensis" mentioned as signing the agreement between the clergy and laity in 1532.¹ It is not known when he died, but it was probably some time before the appointment of Henry Man in 1546.²

Of churches built during this period, if any, there are no remains now existing. The old parish church of Bride, which was pulled down some years ago, probably belonged to the latter end of it.

in insula Man sub domino Regis Angliæ Vacanti per obitum Hugonis Episcopi, extra R. Curiam defuncti, de persona fratris Johannis Howden, ord. fratrum Predicatorum" (LXXX. Vatican, Barberini and Chigi, quoted by Brady).

¹ *Statutes*, p. 28. According to Le Neve, Thomas Stanley succeeded Huan as Bishop of Man in 1510, but this statement is sufficiently disposed of by the fact that Huan was bishop of Man in 1520, while Bishop Kennett (*Lansdowne Diptycha*. MS.) and Wood (*Athenæum*, vol. iii., p. 807) say that he succeeded Richard Mabbott in the Thorngate prebend at Lincoln, in 1528, and that he resigned it, in 1530, on his appointment to the bishopric of Man in succession to Huan; but these statements are also disposed of by the facts, that a careful search through the chapter acts at Lincoln between 1520 and 1530 (kindly made by Archdeacon Venables at the writer's request) shows that his name does not occur as holding any prebend at Lincoln, and we know that Bishop Huan was dead in 1523.

It may therefore be reasonably concluded, that, though there was a Thomas Stanley who was Rector of Badsworth from 1513 to 1549 (York Diocesan Registry), he was not Bishop of Man at the dates mentioned, and it does not seem probable that this Thomas Stanley, Rector of Badsworth, was the same who was bishop between 1558 and 1568, though he may have been (see p. 138).

² See ch. v., p. 137.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION TO THE RESTORATION
(1539—1660).

IN our last chapter we traced the gradual process of reform in the Manx Church up to the dissolution of the religious houses, and we will now endeavour to show that this process continued to be more gradual in the Manx Church than in the English after that date, as well as before it. As proofs of this we may quote : (1) That, in 1594, legislation was required against carrying banners and bells before the dead ;¹ (2) an order of Lord Derby's, at the same time, against eating meat in Lent ; (3) the children of ecclesiastics in Man not having been legitimized till 1610, whereas the Act for the marriage of the clergy was passed in England in 1549 ;² and (4) praying for the dead and other "reliques of popish superstition," mentioned by Bishop Levinz as existing

Slowness of
the Reform-
ation in
Man.

Evidence to
show this.

¹ *Statutes*, p. 66. It is significant that this action was taken by the State, not by the Church (see p. 120).

² We may note also that John Stevenson, Vicar of Maughold in 1576, was called "the last popish priest," and his successor, John Christian, in 1580, "the first protestant minister," of that parish (*Lib. Scacc.* 1719).

in 1688.¹ The gradual process of reform among the Manx was also testified to by a writer of the middle of the seventeenth century as follows:—"They somewt unwillingly at first left y^e practice of y^e primitive church, yet at last they complied to banish y^e Pope, but wth him most willingly they retayned the old six Articles. In King Edw^d y^e 6 his reigne they admitted of y^e Book of Comon Prayer. After, in Queen Marye's reigne, they easily admitted of y^e mass and its concomitants, as being their ancient religion, wh^{ch} they had but lately left off."² Though, on the other hand, Bishop Meryck wrote, in 1590, after stating that the people "are extremely religious,"³ that they "most readily conform without a single exception to the formularies of the Church of England."³ And yet, when we consider the isolation of the diocese, the ignorance of the English language (as, if the reformed Liturgy had been introduced into Man in the days of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, it would have been no better understood than the old Latin service books), and the absence of books in the native tongue, the slowness of this change will no longer cause surprise. There is, however, a distinct break in the continuity of the history of the Manx Church caused by the arbitrary action of Henry VIII. in dissolving the monastery of Rushen⁴ in, or before, 1539.

¹ See ch. vi. p. 174.

² Blundell, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 166.

³ From Cott. MS., *Manx Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 98.

⁴ A computation of the value of the demesne lands of Rushen, made in 1539, when it is referred to as "Russhing late Monastery within the Island of Man" (*Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 224-6), places their value at about £95, and the whole pension to the

So this may be adopted as the starting-point of a new period, though in one respect at least, the continuance of disputes between Church and State, there is a remarkable resemblance to the previous period. For, in 1541, "an enquest of the twenty-four with the two Deemsters find and present that my Lord's prerogative is put down by the bishop and clergy, for that they make vicars of their own mind, the which they find by their oaths that my Lord is metropolitan and chief of Holy Church, and that the bishop shall do nothing but at my Lord's pleasure ; by reason whereof the bishop shall not present to any benefice within the Isle by reason of any lapse of time. . . . To the contrary hereof, the bishop hath presented one Dr. Gilbert Lessage to the vicarage of Kk. Michael."¹ And, when there is again a continuous account of affairs in Man, sixty years later, similar differences are found prevailing.

Dispute between Church and State continues.

In the following year, an important change came about, for there was then passed "an Act for dissevering the bishoprick of Chester and of the Isle of Man from the jurisdiction of Canterbury to the jurisdiction of York," by which both dioceses were placed under "the metropolitan jurisdiction" of York, "to every effect and purpose, according the ecclesiastical laws in this realm."² This Act, it was argued, had the

retired monks amounted to £24 (Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii. 320).

¹ *Rotul.*

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., pp. 300-1. As Man had been placed under York by bull of Pope Calixtus in 1458, this looks as

effect of vesting in the archbishop, as regards Man, the same right as to appeals which he had with respect to the diocese of Chester ; and, if so, the lord ceased to be metropolitan, as declared in the previous year. But we will return to this subject when discussing the question of appeals. From this time till the very end of the sixteenth century, when there were some disputes about tithes, there is scarcely any information to be got about the Church in Man,¹ but it seems to have been either then, or early in the seventeenth century, that it was probably organized on a post-reformation basis. It is this reorganization of the Church, the discipline administered by it, and its disputes with the State, that are the salient points of the history of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. We will proceed to deal with them in the order named.

The first step towards the organization of the Church, was the committal of its spiritual statutes to writing.

though it had been again transferred to Canterbury. But it seems more probable that this Act was simply a sign that Henry VIII. ignored the papal authority in this as in other matters.

¹ It would be interesting to know what effect such events as the issuing of the thirty-eight articles in 1563, and the thirty-nine in 1571, the formation of the Congregationalists in 1568, and the establishment of Calvinism in Scotland in 1560 to 1572, had upon the Manx Church. Sir James Gell quotes a number of English Acts during the period 1532—1571 chiefly relating to Church questions, which did not apply to Man, and comments—“Many of the provisions in these Acts were inapplicable to the Isle of Man. Firstfruits and tenths are not payable in respect of livings there. At the same time, it is presumed the Reformation was brought about in the island by means of the recognition of some of the Acts ; for there are no Acts of the Insular Legislature bearing upon the Reformation.” (See *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 297.)

We may note that the earliest church register now in existence, that of Ballaugh, was commenced in 1598.

This, as we learn from contemporary evidence,¹ was done about the year 1610, not in 1577, as stated in the statute book. To obtain some idea of the constitution of the reformed Church, an analysis of these laws will be necessary; and to enable us to do this more completely, we will also include those spiritual laws which, although most of them were probably administered at this period, were not written down till 1667 in accordance with Bishop Barrow's order. These, together with the laws of 1610, make altogether one hundred and forty-five "breast laws," or judicial *dicta*, laid down for the guidance of the courts in similar cases.² A large portion of them is concerned with the clergy's powers, privileges, and dues. The powers and privileges of the bishop, to take him first,

Spiritual laws
of 1610 and
1667.

Powers and
privileges of
the bishop.

¹ The ecclesiastical records of 1610 mention the "Book of Spiritual Laws late delivered in by the Vicars General, (Sir¹ William Norris and Sir William Crow)"; and, in 1680, John Harrison, vicar-general, stated to Bishop Bridgman that Sir W. Norris and Sir W. Crow had received them orally from their immediate predecessor, Sir Henry Gale, and transcribed them "at the request of John Ireland, Lieut.-Governor, on behalf of William, Earl of Derby," and that the laws so transcribed were "owned and received as the Spiritual Laws and Customs of the Isle by the said Lieut., 2 Deemsters, and 24 Keys of the Isle under their own hands." He then proceeded to state that they were handed by Bishop Phillips to Bishop Foster and by him to Bishop Parre; Bishop Parre then handed them to Sir John Harrison, his registrar, who handed them to his son and namesake, who gave the above evidence. (In ecclesiastical records.)

² The laws of 1610 are to be found at pp. 40-7 in the statute

¹ This is equivalent to the modern *dominus* given to University B.A.s, but it seems formerly to have been given to vicars and curates, whether they had taken that degree or not, rectors being styled "Mr.," the shortened form of magister (*vide* Shakespeare, "Sir Oliver Martext, a vicar").

were very considerable. As Baron of the Isle¹ he held his own court; he had a seat in the Council, and was the supreme administrator of the spiritual laws, the following causes belonging to his jurisdiction, or that of his substitutes the vicars-general, only—"1. The Clergy. 2. Excommunication. 3. Decrees. 4. Mitigation of fines. 5. Marriages and licences for marriage. 6. Divorcement. 7. Adultery. 8. Incest. 9. Witchcraft. 10. The calling a woman a bitch or a man a dog. 11. The censures of fornication upon relapse and other offenders the second or third time. 12. Effusion or spilling of blood in the churchyard. 13. Prophaning the Sunday or any other Holy-day. 14. Persons that refute the excommunication in contempt at their own parish church. 15. The committing offenders into St. German's prison (which is the Bishop's prison)." He could place and displace curates at his discretion. If a rector or a vicar died, and no one was installed within six months from Easter, then the bishop could take the living in lapse, unless it was in the lord's gift. Any minister not yielding obedience to him or his chief officers was suspended *ab officio et beneficio*. If a minister com-

book, those of 1667 being in MS. in the Record Office. The laws of 1667 do not seem to have been confirmed by the Legislature.

¹ The bishop's oath, as Baron of the Isle, was as follows:—

"Ffirst before God and yo^r Hon^r I doe swear and avow that from this day forward, I shall be unto you faithfull and obeydient, and faith to you bear, for the Lands, Tenemt^s and heriditaments w^{ch} I clame and hold of you within this Isle: Alsoe that I shall truly yield unto you all the Customs, Rents, and Services w^{ch} of right I ought to pay for the same, and that at the dayes and hours thereof due and usuall. Soe God me help, &c." (*Lib. Plitor.*, 1577.)

mitted any heinous fault, he was suspended and proceeded against by the bishop with the advice of the clergy. The bishop had his herring scout and fishing-boat tithe free, and he received the following fees: For every citation sixpence, for every "suspension" eighteen pence, and for excommunication two shillings and sixpence; "also, when any great offence is worthy excommunication, then the ordinary hath been used to take for the Excommunication, Absolucion, and receiving all such persons into the Church again ten shillings." He also received one penny for the name of each fornicator presented by the chapter-quest, whose name was entered by him. For probate, his fee was in accordance with the indenture of 1532, except that when "rich men do depart intestate and the ordinary make a perfect will," he is to have three shillings and fourpence.

The archdeacon, or his official acting as his substitute, also held courts, in which, except- Of the
archdeacon. ing the episcopal causes, he had the same jurisdiction as the bishop:¹ he had a seat in the Council,² and had the right to his herring scout and fishing-boat without paying any tithes. As Rector of Andreas his dues and fees were the same as the other rectors.

As to the privileges of the clergy generally, we find that the penalty for assaulting a clergy- Of the
clergy. man was excommunication, and that for cursing "an officer either spiritual or temporal," the offender was to be "committed immediately into St. German's Prison, and not released till he first gave

¹ See p. 114.

² See p. 119.

bonds to perform his censure, which is to wear the bridle for several market days at the several market towns for the space of an hour in the height of the market." It was provided that any difference in a matter of slander between a clergyman and a layman was to be adjudicated upon by a jury, one half of whom were clergymen and the other half laymen. Also, that when laws about spiritual concerns were enacted by the Tinwald Court, the consent of the clergy was necessary to make them binding. No one was allowed to sit or bury in the chancel of any church without the consent of the rector, who was obliged to keep the chancel in repair, while the parishioners had to maintain the body of the church "within and without, with all ornaments and other necessities." An important privilege was that "all instituted Parsons and Viccars of thirds or Viccars of pension, ought to have his brige and staff; that is to say, if they have a man servant that cometh to them of his own free will, he ought not to be taken from them." On the other hand, they were severely punished for transgressing the spiritual laws. Thus, if they married any one without licence or banns, they were suspended for three years, and if they made a clandestine marriage, they and all present were excommunicated and committed to St. German's prison.

As to their fees, rectors and vicars were allowed to choose their fishing-boat at Easter time, and their scout at herring-fishing time.¹ The mortuaries re-

¹ In the *Lib. Scacc.*, 1610, there is a decision that they were also to have the tithe of all new boats to the following Easter.

ceived by them were to be as in 1532, but it was provided that none were to be paid for those who die when less than ten years old. They also received twelve pence "for every will and inventory, except there be a legacy left by the deceased to the minister to the value of twelve pence." With regard to tithe, each tenth stook of corn was taken by them, and no one was allowed to make up his stacks before the tithe stooks were taken by the parson or his proctor. "All Tyth Flax and Hemp is to be brought to the Parish Church with the seed thereof," also the tithe butter and cheese in the months of June, July, August, and September. "Those that depose they have neither butter nor cheese made within any of the said monthes, that then, if they have one milk cow, to pay two pence, and out of four goats two pence." Sheep, lambs, purrs, or wild swine, calves, colts, geese, eggs, hens, honey, wax, fish of all kinds, were subject to tithe, and various fantastic arrangements are to be found in the statute book with reference to their incidence. All trades were tithable. "All persons that are marryed and unmarried that have received the communion before," paid twopence every Easter, while those that received it for the first time paid one penny.

Besides the clergy, there were also their functionaries, the sumners, and the clerks of the parishes, who were paid in kind as ^{Of their} functionaries. follows: The sumner "hath for his paines and duty doing one principall cheese" from each tenant, also one choice lamb and one fleece of wool, and of the corn crop he had "a band of three lengthes of three

principal cornes porcion alike paid from every husband-man." For conveying a prisoner to jail, he received fourpence. The clerk, who was chosen by the parishioners,¹ but with the authorization of the Ordinary, had the cheese tithe, the lamb, and the fleece mentioned above, also "a groate (fourpence) out of every plow," and from those "that have no plowes and keep smoak," one penny. He also received a portion of what is called "Clark's silver" at deaths, which "on the south side of the isle is elevenpence, and the head penny, of which the curate hath sevenpence, the parish clark threepence, and the parson's clark twopence." On the north side of the island the amount of "Clark's silver" was fifteen pence, but it is not stated how it was divided. The clerk's corpse present was from a man twenty pence, or his "apparell," and from a woman seventeen pence. These were the fees paid by the representatives of well-to-do people; with regard to poor people, the amount of the fee was a matter of agreement.

The duties of the clergy, as we learn from the Duties of the churchwardens' oath,² were "to read the clergy. service of the Church on Sundays and Holy days soberly and distinctly, and in due time. To preach one sermon every Sunday (having no lawfull impediment) in such Language or Tongue as shall be to the best edification of the people. To catechize

¹ See p. 127.

² A similar form of oath is found in the time of Lord Fairfax, but the exact form of the above was not written down till Bishop Wilson's time, though something like it was doubtless in full operation soon after the Reformation. From a MS. in ecclesiastical records.

the youth of the parish every Sunday in the afternoon, and to explain some part of the Church Catechism after so plain and familiar a manner as may be to the edifying of the Parishioners. To suffer none to come to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's supper until such time as they be confirmed. . . . To visit the Sick, to marry none without Banns or Licence, nor at any time but betwixt the Hours of Eight and Twelve in the forenoon : and to live so soberly as to be a Pattern of Religion and Virtue to his whole Parish." From this same oath, we also learn that the duties The clerks and of parish clerks were "To Ring the Bells their duties. in due Time, to attend the Minister (when required) at the visitation of the Sick, at the burial of the Dead, or baptizim of Children. To raise the Psalm when required by the Minister, or else to procure it to be done to the satisfaction of the Minister."¹ The sumner's duties were to call "within the church with the advice of the Vicar or Curate all such things as he is requested of the Parish that is gone or lost," to stand "at the chancell door at the time of service to whip and beat all the doggs," to convey offenders against the spiritual laws to jail, and act as the sumner-general's deputy.² The people also elected the churchwardens, four for each parish, Church- when assembled in vestry once yearly. wardens and their duty. Their duties were "to see good orders kept in the church and church-yard, their church-yard ditch to be well made, to make a true and just

¹ *Spiritual Law*, No. 54; see also p. 115, where another portion of the oath is given.

² See p. 119.

account to their parishioners four times in the yeare, to enquire of all offences committed against the Spiritual Law : as also to see all lawful injunctions read in the church, to present all those that use Witchcraft or Sorcery, Adulterers, Fornicators, Blasphemers, Drunkards, and such like : also such as profane the Sabbath, that refuse to come to church to have divine service, or receive the blessed sacrament.”¹ Another body connected with each parish and its church was the

The chapter-quests. chapter-quest, consisting of four men, who were empannelled every year by the bishop or vicars-general to perform much the same duties as the churchwardens.

Another very considerable portion of these spiritual laws relates to criminal matters, and more especially to offences against morality. The following are the more important and characteristic of them. “That such as defame the dead are to make pennance² and to ask the kindred’s forgiveness, because it is done in disgrace of all his Relations, and Publication to be made that none revive the same in Penalty of £3 to the Lord’s use and forty days’ imprisonment.” “That if any aspersion be cast on man or woman, the slanderer is to be punished if he cannot prove the same, and the like publication to be made for the living

¹ For further details see p. 115.

² According to an order issued by convocation, in the ecclesiastical records, dated 1623, a malicious slanderer was “to remain a Lye of Record, and do open penance . . . putting his finger on his mouth, and confessing a Lye in saying ‘Tongue, thou Lyed,’ and so publickly to ask the party offended forgiveness.”

party as for the dead." The punishment for slander against the living was usually that of wearing a bridle¹ at the market cross of the nearest town, or to make from one to fourteen Sundays' penance, according to the enormity of the offence, in the several parish churches. Common whores were "to be drawn after a boat in the sea during the Ordinarie's appointment."²

Adulterers were usually condemned to "make seven Sundays' pennance in several parishes, and for a relapse fourteen, and adding always the number of seven as oft as they transgress, besides a fine to the Lord with imprisonment."

"Whosoever commits Fornication shall make three Sundays' pennance, and if they marry that they go from the Sheet to the Ring;"³ and, "All offenders censured to Pennance are to perform their censures and satisfy the Law before they be admitted to the Holy Communion, and to pay threepence to the minister for every day's Penance for writing certificates, and to the Sumner twopence, and if the offender bring not a

¹ Waldron says, "If any person be convicted of uttering a scandalous report, and cannot make good the assertion, instead of being fined or imprisoned, they are sentenced to stand in the Market-place on a sort of scaffold erected for that purpose, with their tongue in a noose of leather, which they call a bridle, and having been thus exposed to the view of the people for some time, on the taking off this machine they are obliged to say three times, *Tongue, thou hast lied.*"¹

² This punishment has often been quoted as showing the great cruelty of Manx Church discipline, but it may be doubted if it was more cruel than the punishment of whipping at a cart's tail as practised in England, and it was certainly not so indecent.

³ They must be married at once.

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 4.

sheet he is to pay the Sumner fourpence for furnishing him, and no appeal be from the Church, and none offending be privileged from censures."

Cursing, when applied to a layman,¹ was punished with the stocks, or pillory, and imprisonment. If any one appealed from the spiritual judges to the "Staff of government," he was handed back to the former for punishment if he could not prove his case.

"All those which are suspected" of sorcery and witchcraft, "and are presented by the chapter-quest, then the Ordinary doth examine all such causes; and finding any suspicion, shall appoint another jury of honest probable men within the same parish, and doth commit the party suspected in the meantime to the Bishop his prison: and all the offences and crimes the jury do find, or can prove, the Ordinary shall write; and if the jury can bring or prove any notorious fact or crime done by the said person, then the Ordinary shall deliver the same person out of the Bishop's prison to my Lord's goale and Court."

The severest punishment imposed by the Church was that of excommunication.² It was only made use of in the case of hardened offenders, and, as we have already seen, of slanderers of the clergy.

The form of excommunication was as follows:—"Forasmuch as your crimes have been so great, repeated and continued in so long as to give offence to all sober Christians, and even to cry to Heaven for

¹ See pp. 103-4.

² Bishop Wilson writes, "People are never excommunicated but for crimes that will shut them out of heaven."—*Manx Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 112.

vengeance. And you having had sufficient time given you to consider of the consequence of continuing in them without any visible or sincere remorse or probability of a future reformation. Therefore, in the name of our Lord Christ and before this Congregation, we pronounce and declare you A.B. Excommunicate and shut out of the Communion of all faithful Christians. And may Almighty God, who by His Holy Spirit has appointed this sentence for removing of scandal and offence out of the Church, and for reducing of sinners to a sense of their sins and danger, make this censure to all the good ends for which it was ordained. And that your Heart may be filled with fear and dread, that you may be recovered out of the same and out of the power of the Devil, and that your Soul may be saved, and that others may be warned by your sad example not to sin nor continue in sin so presumptuously."

Such were the laws under which was administered the famous discipline of the Manx Church, about which Bishop Wilson wrote:—"There is nothing more commendable than the discipline of this church. . . . Offenders of all conditions, without distinction, are obliged to submit to the censures appointed by the church, whether for correction or example (commutation of penances being abolished by a late law), and they generally do it patiently. Such as do not submit (which hath hitherto been but few) are either imprisoned or excommunicated ; under which sentence if they continue more than forty days, they are delivered over to the Lord of the Isle, both body and goods." ¹

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., pp. 112-13.

An even larger portion of these laws was occupied with the administration of wills, especially those of intestates. Thus the Ordinary had power, in certain cases, of amending dispositions or supplying the neglects of a deceased person, where they seemed obviously contrary to natural piety. Thus "if any make a testament and leave not sixpence legacy to their children, unmarried, legitimately begotten," the Ordinary may make such children executors; or "if any die intestate, having no children legitimately begotten, but only base children, then the Ordinary shall make and ordain his next of kindred, both of father's and mother's side, to be lawful executors; and the base-born to be rewarded of charity, at the discretion of the Ordinary." And in general, the Ordinary was allowed a large discretion in apportioning the remains of a parent's property as was best for the education and maintenance of the children.¹

The tender care of the Manx ecclesiastical law for the interests of the destitute and of children was also shown by the following: When a person died in debt to the lord, and his debts were found to "surmount" his inventory, the lord received the first share, then the orphans, and finally others "penny pound like."²

Attendance at church was, as we have seen, ordered to be enforced by the churchwardens and chapter-quests, and it was ordained, by the thirty-first law, in 1667, "that there be a communion in the Church at

¹ Somewhat, perhaps, like that exercised by the Court of Chancery for the benefit of infants in England.

² The English rule under similar circumstances favours the Crown, but makes no mention of orphans.

least eight times in the year, . . . and all at fourteen years to receive, but first to be examined by the minister, or be presented, unless a lawfull cause appear."

"The main characteristic of the Manx ecclesiastical code,"¹ however, is its prevailing supposition that "faith"¹ generally prevailed, and no doubt this was so generally till the eighteenth century. Excommunica-

Main characteristic of the Manx ecclesiastical code.

tion would therefore be a horrible reality in this world, and so would the penalty of taking a false oath in the next. Accordingly we find that a great part of the evidence in many cases lay in the voluntary oaths of one or more of the parties. Thus "in a difference depending betwixt party and party, when one gives it to the other upon his oath absolutely, there shall be no further hearing of that matter in the Spiritual Court." This implies so much trust in men's oaths as to ignore all risk of collusion. Again: "When sufficient men are sworn to prize" (appraise) "children's goods, the said goods shall not be forced on them, under pretence of overrating them (for men must discharge their consciences), but the executors or overseers must take all things according to prizement"; also that "for fathering an illegitimate child the woman's oath is sufficient," though it was not sufficient to prove a promise of marriage. Upon such grounds, the Manx legislators encouraged

Compurgation.

compurgation generally, and, more especially, that solemn process of purgation which is thus described in the tenth customary law: "He that

¹ *Keble*, p. 202.

entereth his claim within a year and a day after the probate of the will and endeavouring to prove the same within the said limited time, without Bill, Bond or evidence, shall prove the same upon the grave of him or her from whom the same was due with lawfull Compurgators, according to the ancient form, viz. lying on his Back with the Bible on his breast and his Compurgators on either side one." This swearing on the grave seems to have been prescribed in default of documentary evidence between a deceased person, his debtors and creditors. We shall see that it was soon to be denounced by the temporal authorities.¹ Having thus briefly summarized the more important of the ecclesiastical laws, let us now inquire into the constitution of the courts which administered them.

There were three classes of Church Courts, in which the bishop presided either in person or by deputy.²

First, the Summary Court, where proofs of wills were taken, and in which the proceedings were almost entirely *vivâ voce*. During the summer half of the year, *i. e.* from St. Mark's day to St. Simon and St. Jude's, it was presided over by one of the vicars-general, and during the winter half by the archdeacon or his official. It also granted letters of administration for all intestates, in unopposed cases gave sentence on claims by way of legacy or debt, and on all other

¹ See p. 127, note 2.

² Most of the following information is taken partly from Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, and partly from "The Constitution of the Isle of Man," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi.

matters relating to the goods of the deceased ; and also concerning tithes and other Church dues.

Second, the Chapter Court, to the cognizance of which all immoralities and other violations of discipline within each parish Chapter Court. were presented by the ministers and churchwardens and chapter-quests, who held a sort of inquest every third week with regard to the cases which they should present.¹ The Chapter Courts were held in circuit by the vicars-general and archdeacon's official twice a year in each of the six sheadings. Their business, besides the trying of the disciplinary causes, which in most cases were disposed of summarily, was the admission of churchwardens and chapter-quests, the granting probate of wills, and administration of the

¹ In accordance with the churchwardens' oath, these were (1) parishioners who "prophane the Lord's day by habitually neglecting to come to church ; by behaving themselves irreverently there ; by resorting on that day to the ale-house, to gaming or sporting, or doing any works (except such as are of necessity or charity)." (2) "Parents of those children under the age of fourteen years, who prophane the Lord's day by playing, gaming or sporting," and who "do not send their children to be catechized." (Those who neglected Saints' days were treated in the same way.) (3) "Those of sixteen years old and over who do not attend the Holy Communion." (4) Any "Moar, Serjeant, Proctor, or any other person," who "shall on the Lord's day presume to receive any rent or sums of money." (5) "All such as commit fornication, adultery, incest, or the like." (6) "All such as are guilty" of "cursing, swearing, and taking God's name in vain." (7) "All such as are given to drunkenness or tipling, and such as carry tales from house to house, and that sow discord betwixt one person and another." (8) Those who "pretend to sorcery, charms, or witchcraft," and those who resort to them. (9) "All such as pay not the church assesment," &c. They had also to keep a watch upon their parson and upon the clerk to see that they did their duty (see pp. 107-8), and to present them if it were not done.

estates of intestates. If disciplinary causes and matters relating to wills and administrations in the bishop's jurisdiction were not disposed of summarily; the case was remitted to the third court, the Consistory Court, which was the highest of the ecclesiastical courts. To it appeals lay in all the cases above-mentioned, and besides them, it dealt with certain cases which were reserved as episcopal causes.¹ The proceedings in it were entirely documentary, sometimes by written plea or answer, and generally by evidence committed to writing. In some cases, *e.g.* where sentence of deprivation on a clergyman was to be pronounced, the bishop's personal presence was required, in others his virtual presence by his vicars-general was sufficient.²

The bishop had also a court for his own barony,³ which was occupied by a number of copyholders or customary tenants. This court had real jurisdiction, both civil and criminal,

¹ See p. 102.

² For changes in these courts, see ch. x. p. 275.

³ The attorney-general is now the bishop's steward. The other baronies had similar courts, which were conducted by their proprietors, or their stewards, with the assistance of one of the deemsters, and the comptroller and the clerk of the rolls, who received a compensation for their attendance; the attorney and receiver-general were also occasionally present. These courts seem to have exercised an authority in their several districts, equal to the whole of that possessed by the Common Law and Sheding Courts, performing the business of Courts Baron in the admission and enrolment of tenants, by means of peculiar setting quests of their own, and taking cognizance, likewise, in a manner similar to the mode of procedure in the Common Law Courts, and with the like traverse to a second jury and the Keys of all actions of whatever kind, where the defendant belonged to the respective baronies. These baronies had also

over the tenants of the manor, unless they were also tenants of the Lord of the Isle. It was presided over by a steward appointed by the bishop, having under him two serjeants, one for the northern and the other for the southern district of the barony. These serjeants served the processes of the court, and collected the chief rents and heriots payable to the bishop as lord. Any one of the bishop's tenants, even if charged with felony, had the privileges of his court,¹ and the steward might claim him to be tried there, even though he were already indicted and arraigned by the Court of General Gaol Delivery.² In such trials the steward was assisted by one or both of the deemsters, and by the comptroller, or clerk of the rolls; the attorney-general appeared to guard the interests of the lord; and there was no reference to any other court, but only to the House of Keys in civil causes, and in criminal to the governor and Council. So that in prerogative, though not perhaps in actual

their courts of Criminal Judicature, in which all felonies committed by persons resident in any of these baronies, who were not tenants to the Lord Proprietor, were cognizable, and tried by a jury of twelve men, selected from the tenants of the barony, in the same manner that other felonies were in the Court of General Gaol Delivery (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 41).

¹ Bishop Wilson wrote of the bishop's court as follows: The bishop has this peculiar privilege, "that if any of his tenants be guilty of a capital crime, and is to be tried for his life, the bishop's steward may demand him from the lord's bar, and try him in the bishop's court by a jury of his own tenants; and in case of conviction, his lands are forfeited to the bishop, but his goods and person are at the lord's disposal" (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 107). The Abbot of Rushen had the same privilege. The business of all these baron courts is now entirely confined to manorial matters.

² The chief ecclesiastical officers are said to have had seats in the Court of General Gaol Delivery (see *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 45).

working, the bishop's Court Baron, or Manor Court, had a high place in the Manx constitution.

As to the working of these ecclesiastical courts generally, Bishop Wilson commented :
 Bishop Wil- son's opinion of the ecclesiastical courts. "In matters spiritual it is easy to observe very many footsteps of primitive discipline and integrity ; offenders are neither overlooked nor treated with imperiousness ; if they suffer for their crimes, it is rarely in their purses, unless they are very obstinate, and relapse into their former or other great offences. As for civil offences that come before these Courts, they are soon dispatched, and almost without any charge." ¹

The ecclesiastical courts acquired more extensive powers in Man than in England,² inasmuch as it not only belonged to them to determine the validity of wills, and to grant administrations, but to sustain all causes respecting them, or concerning the legacies or the debts of the deceased, within one year and a day from the probate of the will, or granting of administration ;³ and likewise all suits against executors and administrators, as such, at any time within two years from the cause of action. They also for divers offences, besides inflicting Church censures, detained

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 117.

² "The ecclesiastical law of the island is in many respects different from that of England ; and the ecclesiastical courts of the island have a jurisdiction in temporal matters much more extensive than that which was exercised by the English ecclesiastical courts, at any rate since the Reformation" (Sir James Gell, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxix., p. 36).

³ And within three years for foreign debts.

the offenders in the ecclesiastical prison, which was a subterraneous vault in the Castle of Peel, in order, after an examination of a jury of six (whom they were authorized to impanel), to be delivered, if judged necessary, for further trial and punishment, to the temporal power ; and they not only committed to their dungeon for the purpose of such detention, but confinement there was sometimes ordered by their definitive sentence, in affairs merely spiritual.¹

The staff by which these laws were administered consisted of the archdeacon, nominated by the lord, and the two vicars-general, the diocesan registrar, the archidiaconal registrar,² and the sumner-general. This last officer was a sort of apparitor who delivered citations and served the judgments of the courts on the parties concerned. He had a deputy in each parish.

Some of these officers had a share in the civil government of the island, and in this capacity had seats in the Council. The bishop as premier baron ranked next to the governor. The Abbot of Rushen before the Reformation also sat in the Council, but the other spiritual barons were non-resident. Of the other ecclesiastical officers, the archdeacon seems to have generally had a seat in the Council, while the vicars-general and the archdeacon's official were only occasionally members of it. In 1791, when evidence was given before the Royal Commission, there was a

And shared in
the civil
government.

¹ See *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., pp. 44-5. There is now no ecclesiastical prison, or power to commit to one.

² This officer has now ceased to exist.

difference of opinion about the rights of the above to seats, the deemster considering that all had a fixed seat, the attorney-general being uncertain about it, while the clerk of the rolls thought that the bishop and the other ecclesiastical officers were only entitled to attend the Council when summoned by the governor. The most probable view of the question, however, seems to be that given above. For some years after 1777 the ecclesiastical officers were excluded from the Council by the governor, but they were again restored in 1790. At the present day, the bishop, the archdeacon, and vicar-general are always recognized as members of the Council.

In the absence of records, there are no means of learning how the reformed Manx Church administered its spiritual discipline before the very end of the sixteenth century,¹ but from that time till the death of Bishop Phillips in 1633, there is ample evidence in the ecclesiastical records that, as regards moral offences, and non-attendance at church on Sundays and Saints' days, this adminis-

¹ As to the questions with which this discipline was concerned, at that time, we learn from the statute book, in 1594, that the vicars-general were ordered, at Tinwald, to empanel juries in each sheading to inquire into all offences committed against the spiritual laws, and that the following instructions were given them to be laid before these juries: that they "inquire and present (1) if there be any in the Isle do use Witchcraft or sorcerie; (2) all Adulterers, Fornicators, Blasphemers, Drunkards and such like; (3) all such as carry bells or banners before the Dead, or pray upon the graves of the Dead; (4) all such as shall keep any markett upon the Sabbath day, or otherwise profane the same; (5) if there be any person or persons within this Isle that refuse to come to the church to hear Divine Service, or to receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."—*Statutes*, p. 66.

tration, or discipline, as it has come to be called, was remarkably severe, more severe than during the epoch of Bishop Wilson, who has been ignorantly supposed to have made it much more rigorous.¹ This severity of the discipline is all the more remarkable, when we consider that the tendency during that period was to revolt from any sort of authority or discipline. The ordinary punishment² for moral offences was imprisonment in St. German's prison, three days being the smallest and six months the largest term, together with from one to fourteen Sundays' penance, according to the enormity of the misdeed. For non-attendance at church, penance was the usual punishment.

We find, however, that, during the first ten years of the seventeenth century, there being great need of repairs to the chapel at Castletown, many of the less serious of the above offences were commuted for a money payment. The most incorrigible offenders, among whom was a Vicar of Braddan, for a "clandestine marriage," were excommunicated, and of this punishment there are more recorded instances during the first twenty-five years of the seventeenth century than during any other later period of equal length. Nor did the ecclesiastical power confine the exercise of its authority to the poor, as no less a person than the Captain of Castle Rushen was sent to St. German's prison for "marrying without asking Banes

¹ See also pp. 171-4.

² The earliest penalty recorded was in 1595, when John Christian, minister of Kk. Maughold, was fined three shillings and fourpence "for presumptuously eating flesh upon Fryday" (*Lib. Scacc.*).

(*sic*) or Licence from the Ordinary." The most trivial offences, too, received their punishment, as, for instance, a man for leaning on the communion table was sent to prison for three days.¹ But the most significant sign of the height to which ecclesiastical pretensions went, is a regulation passed at Convocation, in 1617, to the effect "that no manner of person shall traduce or obloquie or call in question any churchwarden or sworn man for any presentment they present or set down upon their oathes, upon payne of the churches censure in the highest degree." The Church officials were, in fact, to be considered infallible. They seem, however, not to have been particularly energetic in putting the spiritual law in force, as, in 1629, the bishop wrote, "Whereas manie offenders have beene presented, and (by negligent procrastinacon) not yet punished, to suppress and debilitate the strength of irreligious impieties, wee will and requier you to send us an abstracte of their names, especially of the adulterers . . . That (knowinge impunitie to bee a greate alurement to sin and encouragement to the wicked to dooe woarse) wee may injoyne they doe their due deserved penances according to law, and the qualitie of their offence, whereby the offended congregacone may be satisfied, justice duly executed,

¹ In 1613, certain parishioners of Lonan were sent to St. German's prison by the vicars-general without being informed of the charge against them. They consequently appealed to the "Staff of government," when it transpired "that they were one Sunday absent from Divine Service."¹ They were thereupon released by the civil power in spite of the bishop's protest.

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*

delinquents reformed, sin suppressed, the scelerous and ill disposed premonished and examined."

The next prominent feature of this epoch is the struggle between Church and State, in which struggle the chief points at issue were the claim of the Church to jurisdiction over the garrison soldiers, and the claim of the State to decide appeals from the Ecclesiastical Court.

Struggle between Church and State.

The first question came before Bishop and Governor Meryck, who, with the assistance of the deemsters, decided that "the punishing of sold^{rs}, or any of the Lievetenants ffamilly, for criminal causes, doth not by law belong to the Bishop or spirituall jurisdiction."¹ This question was, however, again raised by Bishop Phillips in 1610, when it was laid before the "officers, Deemsters, Vicars-generall, and twenty-four keyes,"² who referred to the above decision and confirmed it. The bishop contrived, however, after Governor Ireland's departure, to exercise jurisdiction over the soldiers for a time, but, as Lord Strange was against him on this point, he had ultimately to give way. The second question, that of appeals, led to constant disputes, till at last, in 1627, Edward Fletcher, the governor, with the advice of the deemsters and the approbation of the vicars-general, stated the law on the subject as follows :

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*, 1585.

² "A Book containing the answere of the officers, Deemsters, Vicars-generall, and 24 keyes to certain Articles objected by Iohn now Bishop of this Isle against Iohn Ireland, Esq., Lievetennante and Captain of the Isle of Mann." (In ecclesiastical records.)

“By the ancient and accustomed laws of this Isle, any Inhabitor finding himself agrieved by any censure or proceeding held ag^t him in the Spiritual Court, may, upon ye same, appeale unto the Lord his Staff of Govern^t here, and further, as occasion shall be offered, unto the Lord himself, for this is a prerogative. Upon w^{ch} appeale exhibited, the Staff of governm^t may prohibitt the spirituall officers from any further proceedings or intermeddleing therewth untill an indifferent tryall may be had concerning the same, so the same be done within a convenient time without predjudice to any party. But and if the Lord of the soyle please, upon any complaint of appeale or petition, to grant any tryall in law to be made by his prime officers, and twenty four keys ag^t any form^r proceedings or censure by the Spirituallty proceeded in, altho’ they have proceeded both in suspens^{on} and excommunication, which is the furthest point of ye law that they can proceed in, but only deliver both the party and cause to the Lord; then we say, it is the ‘Lord’s prerogative royall,’¹ upon the right of his warrant or refference sent over to his Temporall officers for tryall, that the spirituallty do not only surcease, but also absolve, and in law dispense with the party, whereby he may be capable of law, and at liberty to plead for himself; and this we say is the Lord’s prerogative, as before, in respect y^e party, in that danger running, is only at the Lord’s mercy for his body and goods upon tryall, which the Lord at his pleasure may give or take the same without the controulm^t of any, for the spirituallty hath no

¹ See ch. iv. p. 91.

further power over the party or his cause, but as before.”¹

But this ruling was reversed by the following order from Lord Strange in 1628:

“Whereas by the auncient Lawes and Customes of the Island the Lord Bishop hath ever had power, and authoritie to heare, order, and determine, all ecclesiastical causes (soe y^t the same depend not before him, aboue one yeare, and a day) and to punish all such offenders whatsoever as shall comitt any misdemeanours within or belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Spirituall Courte: Yet nevertheless I am informed by the now Lo: B^{pp} that you my officers (in repugnancy of his authoritie, and to the overthrowe of the Governm^t incident and proper only to his place and ffunction) doe frequently restore p^sons excommunicated by him, and doe further take upon you ye hearinge and disposition of eccl: causes at yo^r pleasure not belonging unto you, whereby you doe not only derogate from the hono^r of his place, in trenching so farre upon Church governm^t, but alsoe hindere mee, and give encouragem^t to offenders to neglect his authority: In consideration whereof, and to the end that offenders may be suppressed and duly punished, the auncient eccl gov^t established and religion ye more advanced; it is my pleasure and express command that you, and every of you henceforth surceass to intermeddle in anie matter or cause belonginge to the Spirituall Governm^t (other than with such as by ye Lawes, and customes of ye

¹ This view was afterwards controverted by Bishop Wilson. See p. 197.

Island may be Lawfull for you), And y^t you suffer him and his servants quietly to pass to and from y^e Island as occasion shall require and for ye better incouragement of ye said Lo: Bishop in the full and free execution of his place, and that publick scandall and dangerous example may be avoyded, and that good respect and due obedience may be given him by all, as befitts them to give to one of his callinge."

In 1636, Lord Strange again referred to this subject, and directed that, until further orders, no appeal should thereafter be made to the "Governor of the Isle or the temporal Court there for any cause depending or determined in the Ecclesiastical Courts which do merely concern government of the Church." ¹ It will be seen that this order, as Sir James Gell comments, "does not affirm the jurisdiction of York in matters of appeal, nor direct that appeals should not be made to the Lord himself: it professes merely to take away, in certain cases, the right of appeal to jurisdictions inferior to the Lord." ² This order, as we shall afterwards see, was to be a fruitful source of dispute, both for the above reasons, and also because, the order not being an Act of Tinwald, it might be argued that it was of no legal validity. Cases concerning wills and tuition of infants were also at this time confined to the ecclesiastical courts. Among minor points in dispute was that of the appointment of the sumner-general. Till 1612, this officer seems to have been appointed by the bishop, but in that year the

¹ *Statutes*, p. 85.

² Sir J. Gell. *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 302.

Countess of Derby¹ made the appointment. The bishop's right to do so was, however, confirmed by Lord Strange in 1627, and remained undisputed for a century. Bishop Phillips was also much annoyed by Governor Ireland issuing licences to eat flesh in Lent, by his imposing a fine on parish clerks on entering their office, by his abrogating the oath for swearing on the grave,² and by his depriving him of his turbary. Further differences between Church and State were settled, in 1643, as follows :—

(1) That the fee of three shillings and four pence, taken by the clergy for distributing the goods of a child under 14 years, should be reduced to sixpence. (2) That the parson or vicar of a parish was to have the nomination of the clerk with the approval of the bishop, as the appointment of clerks by the lord had been complained of. This would seem to have deprived the people of their ancient right of election, for a time, but it was restored by the spiritual laws of 1667. (3) The clergy having taken one shilling for making wills, and having refused to prove wills unless they were written by them, it was ordered that every man may make his own will. (4) It having been stated that the clergy had taken eight shillings as

¹ Two of the clergy were fined for declining to publish the countess's precept appointing him (*Lib. Scacc.*).

² It had been (in 1609) decided by the Legislature that "the manner of swearing upon the graves of the dead with compurgators" was "not fitting or christian-like"; it was therefore abolished, it being ordered that such controversies were "to be tryed according to forme of law, by witness or otherwise, first in the spirituall within the twelvemonth and then in the temporall court" (*Statutes*, p. 72). This practice, nevertheless, continued for fully a century later.

corpse present for goods worth four pounds, and in the same proportion for other values, it was ordered that no corpse present should be taken when goods were under the value of six pounds twelve shillings and four pence, and of that value and under the value of twenty pounds, the corpse present was to be twenty pence, and under forty pounds, three shillings and four pence, and if forty pounds and above, six shillings and four pence; and, moreover, only house-keepers and masters were to pay any corbes. (5) Tithe butter and cheese were to be done away with, but, in lieu thereof, payment was to be made on cows, sheep, and goats. The proctors for collecting the harvest tithe were to be named at an earlier date, as farmers had suffered from their non-arrival by their crops wasting in the fields. The clergy were not to be allowed to demand "their small tythes and offering money" on Easter Sunday. For, in this way, "an undecent and irreverent use" had sprung up by their demanding these dues "at the time the people are to receive the Communion . . . and sometimes will stop the people from receiving the blessed sacrament, because they have not paid their duties." It was therefore ordered that they should receive these dues on Monday or Tuesday in Easter Week. Also, it having been complained that orphans' goods and debts had not been sufficiently secured by the spiritual court, it was ordered that, if the bishop or his officers did not take sufficient security, they were to make the loss good. These laws were assented to by the twenty-four Keys, and certain representatives from the parishes.¹

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 92-99.

During the earlier portion of this period, the dispute between Church and State seems to have occasioned some bad feeling. Feeling between Church and State. Instances of this are the refusal of a pass to the bishop to go to England by the governor, the threatening by the same authority to fine any one who would address the bishop as "lord bishop," and his placing "a layman in the chaplain's place to read service to the garrison in scandalous manner, viz. in his doblett and hose and sometime in his livery coat : yea, when a minister or two have been present."¹ Yet this feeling seems to have been merely between the clergy and the lord's officials. For the attitude of the people (whose slowness to adopt the reformed religion we Attitude of the people to the Church and their spiritual condition. have already discussed) during this period seems to have been, generally speaking, favourable to the Church, though the evidence as to their spiritual condition is conflicting.² In 1616, however, there seems to have been some Puritan feeling among them, if we may regard the following as significant: The "clarke of Kk. Michaell" refused to "attend the minister in the Chancell where Divine Service is usually redd," to help him on with his "sirplesse," or to "read the first lesson, all wch are offices usually belonging to the clarke. But would have the Communion table and the Byble removed down into the body of the church, where he himself sayt, and there onlie he sayd he would doe and

¹ "Articles objected" by Bishop Phillips. See p. 123.

² See pp. 97-8.

execute these services.”¹ The next account of the people is derived from Bishop Parre, who, in a letter to Archbishop Neile, written in 1639, stated that he found them “on St. John Baptist’s day, in a chapel dedicated to that Saint, in the practice of gross superstitions,”² which he caused “to be cried down,”² and in the place of them “appointed Divine Services and Sermons.”² By 1643, according to Lord Derby, they were declaring “that they would have no bishops ; pay no tithes to the clergy ;”³ and yet, in the same year, various questions between the clergy and people, in which substantial concessions had been made to the latter, were amicably settled, and, both then, and till after the Restoration, tithes continued to be paid without protest.⁴ These are facts which are at variance with the above statement, and which, at a time when the Church in England was in danger of succumbing to the assaults upon it, speak well for the good feeling existing on both sides in Man. Of the further progress of the people in a puritanical direction, we learn from a contemporary observer, who was in Man between 1648 and 1656, that at “y^e later end of King Charles his reigne Presbytery began (but as it were peeping up only). They now began to decline, neglecting to frequent y^e churches on y^e apostles’ and saints’ festivals, and admitted of

¹ *Lib. Scacc.* The deemsters decided that for such offences the clerk “is not only punishable by the Ordinary but fineable to the Lord in xls provided he be forborn with and allowed for the first offence of that kind.” See also *Liber Chancell.*, 1616.

² Ecclesiastical records.

³ *Manx Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 12.

⁴ See pp. 131 and 152.

preachings in private houses by strangers, whereof I was an eye-witness. . . . Notwthstanding, I observed y^t y^e Manksmen for y^e major part are generally very respective (*sic*) of their clergy, and although those of y^e clergy they are severe in their injoyning of tenants, and penaltyes w^{ch} they inflict upon delinquents, yet doe they punctually performe them wth all obedience and marvelous silence. Their tithes they willingly pay as soon as it is demanded ; if any fayle it is through want of means and not for want of will.”¹

Of the actual working of the Church at this period (1539—1651) very little is known. In Church regulations. 1610, 1613, and again in 1629, there were some wise and useful regulations with reference to catechizing, the conduct of ministers, keeping of register books, services for fishermen, the registration of wills, regulation of marriages, etc., placed on record. Some of the more important of these are appended.

1610. “*In primis*, that all members in their several churches do diligently catechize on the Sundays and holy days according to the Book of Common Prayer, provided that some part of the Parish come one day and some another day at the appointment of the Minister till he have gone thro them all, and so from time to time to hold on that course, and let every Minister between the Morning prayer and the high Service question some point of the Catechism with the clerk or some other in the Vulgar tongue for the better edifying of all degrees.

¹ Biundell, *Manx Sec.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 166-7.

“It: That beneficed persons that are not allowed to preach themselves take order that certain Sermons be preached within their cure yearly by such as be allowed by the Ordinary to preach, viz: that Parsons and Vicars of thirds do provide six sermons at the least by the year and the Vicars of pension four sermons.

“It: That the minister go not a visitation without the clerk or a deputy allowed by the Ordinary for the testification of Wills if they be made; and of this let there be made a publication the next Sabbath (*sic*) in every several Parish by the Minister.

“It: That there be a register Book kept by every Minister within his several charge, of the Christenings, Marriages and Burials, and that none be churched in houses but in case of necessity and that upon special Licence from the Ordinary, so that no Minister be present at any private contract of youth, never before married unless the Parents, Guardians, or such have charge over them be present and give consent thereunto.

“It: Let reparation be carefully made of the Chancel and Church houses upon the Glebe lands within two years at the furthest, and some preparation towards it in the meantime be done.

“And all the premises to be accomplished upon pain of suspension and sequestration according to Law, unless the Ordinary see just cause to give further time.”

1613. “The parson, vicar or minister of the Parish where the Herring fishing is gotten is to repair to the harbour every morning and evening to read them divine service and to deliver them good admonition,

w^{ch} if he neglect or refuse to do he is to forfeit his Tyth fish the ensuing night, which is to be given to the poor at the Admiral's discretion. And if any person shall neglect to come to the place where such service is to be read, the Admiral or his vice Admiral sets out his flag (w^{ch} is the sign or token when they are to observe that duty), to offer their prayers and praises for such blessings, such upon knowledge thereof is to be excluded from the benefit of the fishing that night."¹ And, in 1629, a difficulty having arisen about the respective jurisdictions of the bishop and archdeacon, the bishop ordered the "spirituall officers to keep our Ec̃call Courts hereafter in due tyme as wee shall forthwith direct you without Inno-vaçone or broaching of noveltie. Also wee commande you our Registers to have a speciall care to keep severall all the wills, decrees, and acts everie halfe yeare due and belonging to the s^d severall jurisdiçones as of aunciente tyme hath been accustomed." We may note that, in 1607, a decree was issued from the Exchequer at Westminster asserting the jurisdiction of the Crown over the monastic possessions in the Isle of Man, and that, in 1610, possession of them was granted to William, Earl of Derby, and Elizabeth his wife,² with the reservation of a certain rent-charge to the Crown.³

¹ We may note that in 1610, one of the clauses in an Act of Tinwald was to the effect "That none be admitted to Fish from Saturday Morning till 7 at Night, after Sun-set, upon Pain of Forfeiture of his Boat and Netts" (*Statutes*, p. 75).

² For sundry documents relating to these questions see State Paper Office, Scotland, *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 89-95, and "Rot. Pat.," *Manx Soc.*, pp. 99-125.

³ This is now worth £525 per annum.

About the clergy at this period, we learn nothing till 1634, when, according to a "State Paper"¹ endorsed by Archbishop Laud, it would appear that "all the clergy except two or three are illiterate men, brought up in the island in secular professions." And, in 1639, Bishop Parre stated that "most of the Ministers were of no better ability than to read distinctly divine service,"² that "the island was destitute of means of learned education," that he had warned the ministers "to be diligent in catechizing,"² and that "because many of them could not preach,"² he had introduced the Book of Homilies. But, a few years later, this evidence was contradicted by Blundell, who remarked, "Their ministers truly are not unlearned. I did not converse wth only one, but y^t I found him both a schollar and discreet";³ and this account was confirmed by Chaloner, who wrote, "Considering the Ministers here are generally natives, and have had their whole education in the Isle, it is marvailous what good Preachers they be."⁴ As to their incomes, "nine or ten of the parishes are worth £4, one or two £40, and the rest £20,"⁵ and "the rectory of Endreas (*sic*) £60."⁵ Under Lord Fairfax, these incomes were greatly increased.⁶

There is but little church-building recorded during

¹ In ecclesiastical records, marked No. cclxv. 45, p. 47.

² Letter to Archbishop Neile in ecclesiastical records. MS. note, *Ibid.*

³ *Manx. Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. x., p. 18.

⁵ *State Paper* already quoted.

⁶ See p. 146.

this period, such as there is being mainly due to Bishop Parre, who, in 1640, rebuilt the chapel at Ballure, near Ramsey, and, in 1641, was instrumental in building a chapel¹ in Douglas and in repairing the chapel in Castletown, the funds for these last two chapels being raised by assessment on the towns of Douglas and Castletown respectively by order of the Tinwald Court.² The general condition of the churches seems to have been very bad, there being entries in the records which tend to show that they were little better than barns, and in a miserable state of repair. But though her buildings were neglected, one most important contribution to the needs of the Manx Church was made at this period, viz. the translation of the Prayer-book into the Manx language by Bishop Phillips—“the Mannish Book of Common Prayer by me translated,” as he wrote in 1610—of which we will give a short account. Bishop Phillips proposed to have “perused” it with his clergy in that year, “so with one uniform consent to have it ready for the printing,” but “was lett and hindered³ from that and other religious labours”⁴ by the Governor of the island. This translation was

¹ This chapel was called “St. Mary’s.” The existence of this chapel is clear from the Records (see p. 145), yet Blundell (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xxv., p. 76) writes, “Ye greatest want the townsmen of Douglas are sensible of is . . . a church for divine service.”

² *Lib. Scacc.*

³ The printing thus hindered has been delayed to our own day.

⁴ Letter to the “Earle of Salisburie,” from copy in ecclesiastical records.

clearly not approved of by the bishop's contemporaries, as we find Sir W. Norris, vicar-general, stating, in 1611, that he could not "read the same Book perfectly, but here and there a word"; while his colleague, Sir W. Crowe, said "he could upon deliberate perusal thereof read some part upon it, and doth verily think that few else of the clergy can read the same Book, for that it is spelled with vowells wherewith none of them are acquainted."¹

Nor was it better received in the following century, for Sacheverell, writing in 1702, said that it was "scarce intelligible to the clergy themselves, who translate it off-hand more to the understanding of the people."² He was followed by Bishop Wilson, who wrote, "It is of no use to the present generation";³ and, in 1765, when the Prayer-book was again translated, the translators do not seem to have availed themselves of the earlier version. Yet Bishop Phillips's Manx is, for the most part, easily understood by those who speak Manx at the present day, when read to them.

It is difficult, therefore, to explain the attitude of Phillips's contemporaries, except, perhaps, on the ground of jealousy on account of its being the work of a stranger. As to Sacheverell, it is probable that he acquired his information at second-hand, while it would seem that Bishop Wilson had never perused the MS., the existence of which seems to have been forgotten as early as 1663.⁴

¹ From "Articles objected by Bishop Phillips." See p. 123.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 1. ³ *Ibid.*, vol. xviii., p. 100.

⁴ See p. 157.

Bishop Phillips's Manx is more phonetic than the modern, and it is a much more direct and simple translation, avoiding the periphrases, circumlocutions, and many of the corruptions which abound in the translation of 1765. The chief divergence between the two translations, as far as actual words are concerned, is in the particles, which are, of course, very important in fixing its idiomatic character. But whatever may be thought of the literary merits of this translation, it remains a monument of painstaking work.

Let us now refer to the bishops during this period. Some Bishop¹ of Man was alive in 1541, as, in that year, he presented to ^{The Bishops.} a benefice in the island.² But the see had been "sometime vacant through the natural death of the last bishop,"³ when, in 1546, Henry Man,⁴ Henry

¹ Perhaps Bishop John Howden. See pp. 95-6.

² See p. 99. ³ *Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 38.

⁴ The idea that Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's from 1548 to 1555, when he was martyred, had been Bishop of Man, seems to have been originated by Baker, who stated in his *Chronicle*, originally published in 1640 (p. 321, ed. 1730), that he was bishop of that island at the time of his death. Le Neve, and others who have written about the Manx bishops, perceived that this was a mistake, but fell into another by stating that he was translated from Man to St. David's in 1546. This is shown to be erroneous by a reference to the index of Archbishop Cranmer's original Register in Lambeth Library, which records that the nomination and consecration of Dr. Ferrar to St. David's took place on the 9th of September, 1548, at Chertsey (a copy of this document has been sent to the writer by the courtesy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it is unfortunately too long for insertion here). It is clear, therefore, that Ferrar could not have been a bishop before 1548, and the statement that he was translated from Man in 1546 is negatived by the fact that if it were so, the see could not have been "sometime vacant through the natural death of the last bishop" (*Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 38), when Henry Man was appointed Bishop of Man in the same

VIII.'s chaplain, was appointed by patent.¹ Bishop Man had permission to retain, "together with his bishopric, the deanery and dignity of our Cathedral Church of Christ and of the blessed Mary the Virgin, his mother, in our county of Chester, together with the parochial churches of the blessed Mary upon the mount, in our city of Chester, and Fynyngley, in our county of Nottingham,"² and so it is not surprising that there is no record of his ever having been present in his insular diocese. He seems to have retained the good graces both of Edward VI.'s guardians and of Queen Mary, as he died, on October 17, 1556,³ in possession of all his dignities and emoluments. His successor was Thomas Stanley,⁴ who was styled *Sodoren Episcopus*, when instituted to the rectory of Wigan on August 9, 1558.⁵ He was also called "Bishop of

year. What seems to have led all these writers astray was Ferrar's signature "Men," the contraction for "Menevensis," St. David's, which they read "Man."

¹ Note that this patent was issued without any reference to the lord of the isle, and was, according to the report of the Commissioners in 1633, "a Donation not by *congedeslier*, as is directed by the Statute, which might be by a title fallen during the Wardenship of the Earl of Derby, who came to full age about the time when there was a difference between the Bishop of Rome and the King" (*Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 135).

² *Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 38—41.

³ This, according to Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 140, is the date on his tombstone in St. Andrew's Undershaft church in London.

⁴ We may note that there was a Thomas Stanley Governor of Man from 1562 to 1568. He was, therefore, perhaps governor as well as bishop (see p. 96, note 1).

⁵ *History of Church and Manor of Wigan*, p. 131 (Chetham Soc., 1888).

Man and the Owte Isles.”¹ How he attended to his diocese may be gathered from a letter from Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1564, in which he says “The Bishop of Man liveth here (Durham) at ease and as merry as Pope Joan.”² After him came John Salesbury, who was not appointed till 1570, when the bishopric had been “some time since vacant by the natural death of Lord Thomas Stanley, the late Episcopal Prelate.”³ This John Salesbury was also Dean of Norwich, Chancellor of Lincoln, and Archdeacon of Anglesea. After his “natural death,”⁴ John Meryck was appointed in 1576. This bishop affords a welcome contrast to his immediate predecessors, as he visited his diocese occasionally. Nor does he fail to call attention to the fact, as he wrote to Lord Burghley—“I came last summer to Wales; having been the year afore in Man; as I am commonly between both: not of my own choice or will; but things are so. Neither hath any bishop my predecessor been otherwise this hundred years.”⁵ He was governor as well as bishop, and, as he used his authority to advocate the election of the House of Keys, “by the whole consent of the

John Sales-
bury.

John Meryck.

¹ *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings*, 2 Eliz., vol. ii., S. No. 2.

² Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 100.

³ Patent approving Lord Derby's appointment. *Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 54. According to Kennett (*Lansdowne MSS. British Museum*), he died in 1568.

⁴ “The Royal Assent, upon the presentation to the Bishopric of the Isle of Man,” *Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 62-4.

⁵ *Lansdowne MSS., Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 74. The meaning of this last sentence is not clear.

country,"¹ instead of, as for some time previously, by the governor's nomination, he was probably very popular. It seems likely, too, that it was through his influence it was ordained, in 1593,² that, though the price of cattle had risen, the corbes should not be raised above the old price. John Meryck died in 1599, and was succeeded by George Lloyd,³ who was translated to Chester in 1604. The only trace of Bishop Lloyd in the ecclesiastical records is that he presided, in 1603, at a Consistory Court, when several offenders against the spiritual law received punishment. John Phillips, who followed in 1605, had been archdeacon since 1587,⁴ and he continued to hold that office as well as the bishopric. We have already seen how strenuously he upheld the rights of the Church at a time when the Puritans and their principles were rapidly becoming more powerful. There is no precisely contemporary account of him, but Chaloner, who wrote twenty-five years after his death, and must have been acquainted with those who knew him, speaks of him as a "singularly Learned, Hospitable, Painful and Pious Prelate . . . who out of zeal, to the propagating of the Gospel, attained the knowledge" of Manx "so exactly that he did ordinarily preach in it."⁵

¹ *Lib. Chancell.*, 1581. See also *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 67.

² *Lib. Scacc.*

³ From this date we learn the dates of the appointments of the bishops from the insular records.

⁴ It is recorded in 1596 that he complained of a portion of his tithes being taken away, and on reference of the question to a jury it was returned to him. *Lib. Scacc.*

⁵ *Manx Soc.*, vol. x., pp. 9 and 15.

Sacheverell, probably taking his information from Chaloner, states that Phillips was "famous in his generation for his great pains in preaching, his charity, and hospitality, even to the meanest of the people."¹ Wood says that he "was famous for his charity and hospitality."² Chaloner is also responsible for the statement that he translated the Bible as well as the Prayer-book, saying that he "undertook that most laborious, most difficult but useful Work, of the Translation of the Bible into Manks; taking to his assistance some of the Islanders; as namely, Sir Hugh Cavoll (Cannell), Minister of the Gospel and now Vicar of Kirk Michael, perfected the said Work in the space of twenty and nine years." Sacheverell mentions this statement of Chaloner's, and remarks that his Bible is "now not extant." Cox, writing in 1720, but merely copying his predecessors, says that he translated "the liturgy and Bible into the Manks language;"³ and Bishop Wilson writes about the same time that "It has been often said that the Holy Bible was by Bishop Phillips's care translated into the Manks language; but upon the best inquiry that can be made, there was no more attempted by him than a translation of the Common Prayer."⁴ Bishop Wilson's evidence, combined with the fact that there is no mention of this Bible in contemporary records, would seem to show that no such translation had been made. To form a just estimate of Bishop Phillips from the scanty material we have been able

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 91. ² *Athenæum*, Oxford, vol. ii.

³ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 89. ⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xviii., p. 124.

to accumulate is scarcely possible. But it is at least clear that he was a strong and zealous upholder of the Church and her rights, and that, considering his other appointments,¹ he bestowed considerable attention upon his diocese. The mere fact of his having mastered the Manx language, and of his having translated the Prayer-book into that language, shows that the welfare of his Manx flock was dear to him. In fact, in every aspect in which we are able to view him, he stands conspicuously superior to most of his successors as well as his predecessors, and would seem worthy of a reputation not much inferior to Wilson, Barrow, and Hildesley, and the less known, but probably equally able bishops, Simon, Mark, and Donkan. He died in 1633, at Bishop's Court, and was buried in St. German's cathedral.

The remaining bishops before the Restoration may be briefly dismissed. The connexion of William

William Foster. Foster (1633-35) with this diocese

seems to have been confined to his having held a court in Douglas in October 1634.² He died in the following February, and was buried at Barrow, Cheshire, of which place he had been rector.³ It was during his time that it was decided (1633) by a Royal Commission that the proper course of presentation to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, was for the Earl of Derby to present a candidate to the Crown, and for the Crown to write to the Archbishop of York to consecrate him.⁴

¹ He was Archdeacon of Cleveland, and held two English livings.

² *Lib. Scaec.*

³ Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 141.

⁴ *Fœdera, Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 137-9.

The next bishop, Richard Parre, was a member of a Lancashire family, which was already connected with Man both in Church and State; but he does not seem to have been enamoured of his diocese, as he reported to Archbishop Neile that the "extreme coldness of the country,"¹ and his "ruinous house,"² constrained him "to retire to England for the winter season."² In 1637, he endeavoured to raise his rents, which created such a disturbance among the farmers that they appealed to York, "but the court of York upon mature and deliberate consideration" found that it had no jurisdiction in such a case, and the question was ultimately settled by the earl making an order "that the sayd Bishop should confirme the sayd farmers' leases now in being upon consideration of a yearly increase of maintenance from mee."³ Bishop Parre died in March 1644, and was buried in Bishop Phillips's grave in St. German's cathedral.

As to the income of the bishops, Bishop Meryck states that it was "but 80 lb. in money, wherewith I travail by sea and by land."⁴ In another letter he estimated that his income scarcely ever exceeded £100, and that out of this he "should have assigned some portion towards the repairs of the buildings, and something also to him

¹ This would not pass muster now that climatic conditions are better understood.

² From copy of letter in ecclesiastical records.

³ These farmers for urging "an appeal at York, contrary to the Lord's order, prerogative and Lawes of the Island, are ordered to acknowledge their fault at the Tynwald Hill, and to pay a fine of £6 13s. 4d." (*Lib. Scacc.*, 1637).

⁴ Lansdowne MSS., *Manx Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 74.

who presides over the law courts (as never a penny is paid by the people to the judge or the functionaries), the remainder . . . is thought there sufficiently magnificent in relation to the other revenues of the Island."¹

In 1635, the "State Paper"² already referred to informs us that the money value of the bishopric was estimated at £140; and the civil records in 1645³ estimate the rents at £116, together with "customs," commutable for £2, or rather less, in money, but which seem to have been usually paid in kind, and *boon-days*, or days of free labour, and "carriages," not estimated. That this income does not seem to have tempted the bishops, with the honourable exception of Phillips, to reside in the island, proof is afforded by a letter of Earl James's, in which he told his son that if he allowed the bishopric to be leased, as
 Their non- residence. had been the usual practice, "he would find few worthy men desirous of the place,"⁴ as it would be worth so little, and that if he appointed men already beneficed in England, as was also the usual practice, "they will seldom live in the Isle."⁴

And now the Manx Church was to be without a
 Civil rulers take their place from 1644—1660. bishop for nearly seventeen years, the episcopal office being exercised by the various civil rulers of Man, of whom Earl James was the first. Perhaps one reason of his for not appointing a bishop, was because he was in need of the revenues of the bishopric for paying

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 98.

² No. cclxv. 45, p. 47. See p. 134.

³ *Lib. Scacc.* ⁴ Derby, *Manx Soc.*, vol. iii., pp. 18, 19.

his military expenses. This view receives confirmation from finding in the civil records shortly after Bishop Parre's death, "a pticular account of ye Rents forth of the Bo^{ps} spiritualtyes," which shows that these rents were chiefly spent upon the Lord's household, the remainder, together with the "customes,"¹ going to the garrisons. But another reason for not appointing would seem to have been that he did not intend to do so till the leases expired, when "the Bishopricks will be worth having."²

However this may have been, we find the earl superintending Church as well as State till he left the island in 1651. Thus, in 1644, a dispute having arisen between Sir Patrick Thompson and Sir Thomas Harrison, "touching ye right to ye vicarage of Kk. Braddon,"³ he decided it in favour of the former; and "the chappell of Douglas" being "unfurnished of a preaching minister," he ordained that £10 per annum "be duly paid unto Sir Tho: Harrison for preaching upon Sundaies in ye said Chappell out of ye revenues of ye Bpricke."

It was about this period, too, that he seems to have entertained the idea of establishing an insular university or college, as will be seen from the following letter to his son Charles: "I had a design, and God
A Manx university contemplated.
 may enable me, to set up an university, without much charge (as I have contrived it); which may much

¹ See p. 144.

² Derby, *Manx Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 19. Blundell (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 48) states that he bestowed the bishop's revenue on the clergy, but this cannot be maintained in opposition to the Records.

³ *Lib. Scacc.*

oblige the nations round about us. It may get friends into the country, and enrich this land.”¹ But this design was not to be carried out for nearly two centuries.

The substitution of Lord Fairfax for Lord Derby, as the island was only governed in the name of the Commonwealth² from November 2, 1651, to February 23, 1652, made singularly little difference to the Manx Church. There was no bishop, but there had been already a vacancy in this office for seven years; the Book of Common Prayer ceased to be used; a court called “the Wills or Willers Court,” constituted of civil magistrates, took the place of the Ecclesiastical Court for the probate of wills; and the punishment of offences against Church discipline was administered by the deemsters instead of the vicars-general; while for the chapter-quests were substituted four men in each parish nominated by the governor and officers. The parish clergy, indeed, benefited by the change, as part of the bishop’s income was used “for the better encouragement and support of the ministers of the gospel,”³ who, according to Blundell, received at least £60 each.⁴

The interests of the clergy were in other respects well looked after. Thus, when, in 1659, the officers of the castles quartered soldiers upon them, the governor, Chaloner, declared that they “always have

¹ Derby, *Manx Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 19.

² All notices about Church matters at this time (1651-60) are found in the civil records.

³ Chaloner, *Manx Soc.*, vol. x., p. 18.

⁴ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 167.

been and should continue to be exempt" from this service, and, in 1658, he ordered that "Sir Hugh Cannell,"¹ as being "one of the first preachers in this isle, and the first that taught the Manks to read the Scriptures in the Manks tongue, and assistant to the late reverend father in God John Phillips, Bishopp of this isle, in translating of the Bible,"¹ should have an increase of £14 to his income. And it is clear that they conformed to the new state of things without any difficulty, as a reference to the names of the rectors and vicars of the various parishes² will show that there seems to have been no change among them except by death. For, of the seventeen parishes, no less than nine had the same clergymen both before and after this period, the date of three more being uncertain, while, of the appointments made to fill vacancies, one died, and the other three are still found holding their livings after the Restoration, while the rectory of Andreas, which had been held by Archdeacon Rutter, who had left the island with the Countess of Derby at the end of 1651, remained vacant, the parish being left in charge of a curate.

The clergy conform and retain their livings.

The remaining part of the bishop's income was used "for the maintaining of free-schools, *i. e.* at Castletown, Peel, Douglas and Ramsey."³ The governors, who lived at Bishop's Court, succeeded to Earl James's control of ecclesiastical arrange-

Part of bishop's income used for education.

¹ *Lib. Scacc.* This is probably incorrect. See p. 141.

² "Diocese of Sodor and Man," *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxix.

³ Chaloner, *Manx Soc.*, vol. x., p. 18.

ments, and they seem to have administered the discipline of the Church in a thorough and satisfactory manner. Thus we find that the four men in each parish,¹ the captain of the parish invariably

Maintenance of the discipline. being one, had instructions to present such as (1) "profane or break the Sabaoth in absentinge him or herselfe from the publike worshipp of God, by loyteringe or using vaine sports and games"; (2) "make or cause anie disorder or tribulation at sermon or prayer time, or that doe quarrell or make anie tumult on the Sabaoth day"; (3) "doe curse, swear, or otherwise blaspheme or take the name of God in vayne"; (4) "go about to doe anie maner of worke, business, or labour on the Sabaoth day . . . workes of charitie and necessitie always excepted"; (5) "frequent taverns, or ayle houses on the Sabaoth day."

The churchwardens, instead of being elected by the parishioners at the Easter vestry, and
 The church-wardens and their duties. sworn in at the Chapter Court, were "chosen by the minister of the parish and the ould churchwardens, within six dayes after the Michalmas courts," and were sworn in by the deemsters. Their oath was almost identical in terms to that previously given,² but with the following additions: They were to present their parson, "if it be apprehended that he preach not sound doctrin; if his life and conversation be not agreable to his

¹ These men also presented civil offences, and seem to have been of a better class than the churchwardens and chapter-quests were usually composed of. See p. 146.

² See pp. 106 and 115.

doctrin," and "if he suffer beere or ayle or wine to be sold in his house;" and they were also instructed "every Sabaoth or Lords day both forenoon and afternoone at the time of publique worship" to "goe . . . to such ayle-houses or places where any persons are drinking at service time, or any way neglecting the same (*i. e.* the service), and to present them."

Both the churchwardens and the four men from each parish were to make their presentments "at the two Sheading Courts in euey year, or the two Head Court days at the furthest . . . unto the Gouvernor and officers at the temporall court." ¹

A good indication of the nature of the ecclesiastical authority wielded by the governors, is afforded by the following injunction Injunction
issued by
Chaloner. issued by Chaloner, in 1658, to "ye Ministers and Churchwardens of each Church and Chapple within ye Isle: That they shall not suffer or pmitt any Minister of the Isle, or stranger, to officiate within theire severall Churches or Chapples without the leave and express pmition of such Ministers first had and obtained under ye^r hands in writeinge; Neither shall they pmitt any p^{son} or p^{sons} whatsoever not beinge in holy Orders to exercise or use preaching or any pte of gods worpe or service within the said Churches or Chapples upon any accompt or Coloure whatsoever;

¹ Among cases decided by this court we find a curious one about a woman who had been accused "of witchcraft, charmege or sorserie," and, being acquitted by the jury, had to declare her "innocencie" in church (see Malew Register, in *Manx Note-Book*, vol. ii., p. 135); also a decree for the separation of a man and his wife "from bedd, boord and cohabitation, but not from the bands of matrimonie, untill it shall please God to put them into a milder and more charitable frame of spirit."

And for better Execution of this order the Coronner, lockman and all substantiall people of eash p^{ish} are herby required to be aydinge and assistinge when y^e Minister or Churchwardens shall call upon them in this behalfe; And it is further ordered and injoynd y^t noe p^{son} or p^{sons} whatsoever shall be pmitted to receive the Lords Supper in any p^{ish} but that wherein they live without a Certificatt under y^e hand of y^e Minister and Churchwardens of such a p^{ish}; that such p^{son} or p^{sons} stands not presented for nor lyes not under any contumacy or disobedience for any scandalous sinful crime by them committed. And lastly it is hereby ordered and injoynd that this act be fairly entered in the church Register of every p^{ish}; and the same to be published openly in the Congregation in every Church and Chapple upon receipt thereof, and also upon y^e first Sunday in Lent every year successively: The contrary herof att yo^r perills."

We also find this governor issuing the following direction for the examination of a candidate for the ministry:—

"It is refferred unto Parson Rob^t Parr and S^r Rob^t Allen, urgently to examine, trye and inquire into y^e abilities, iudgem^t and conversacon of M^r Henry Harrison, whether he is competently quallified to be admitted unto y^e degrees of Deacon and Minister, and to certify me thereof without delay."

On April 27, 1660, Parson Parr and Sir Robert Allen returned favourable testimonials, and the governor endorsed them as follows: "I am very well satisfied wth y^e testimonie herein had, and doe ord^r y^t y^e Reg^r doe

Record these testimonials." The candidate having been thus approved, the governor, on the 9th of May, issued the following warrant for his ordination: "Thease are to require and injoyne any three of the Ministers on the North side of the Isle, to conveye themselves upon the 15th day of this instant, May, by the hour of tenn of the clock at the farthest, in the aforenoone of the same day, of which number p^{son} Sr Robert Parr is to be one, for the ordaineing of M^r Henrey Harrison, Deacon and Preest, for w^{ch} this shall be your Warrant."

It would seem that the ordination of deacon and priest took place at the same time. On the 15th of May, in accordance with the above warrant, we find recorded, "Wee, whose names are subscribed, a select number of the Clergie of this Isle required and injoynd by o^r ho^{ble} governors co^mission (bearing date 9th of May) to convenie o^rselves upon the 15th day of the s^d month, for the ordaining of M^r Henry Harrison, Deacon and Priest, In obedience to his ho^{rs} co^mission, and in case of necessitie to suplie the cure of Kk. German of Peele (voyd by the abnegacon of M^r George Harrison), Wee have this day p^rfixed met in the p^{sh} Church of Jurby, and in solemlie manner after examinacon of the said M^r Henry Harrison's abilitie and sufficientie for Liffe and doctrine, to undertake the cure of souls, we have Ordained him deacon and full minister by exhortacon, praying and imposition of hands according to the Apostles rule, 1 Tim. iv. 14, desiring that the said co^mission and o^r p^rceedings thereupon be recorded for o^r discharge. Dat. Maij 15^o 1660^o. Ro.

Who is ordained
deacon and
minister at
the same
time.

Parre, John Harrisons, Ed. Crowe, Joh. Huddleston." To this is affixed the governor's signature, with the endorsement, "Let y^e comission and y^e proceedings thereupon bee recorded, 15 May, 1660."

Other matters connected with the Church also received strict attention. The tithes were collected as strictly as ever, some who tried to evade the tithe on honey, for instance, being promptly ordered to pay it; and, if we may judge from various enactments in the Records, the fabrics¹ of the churches were not allowed to fall into decay during this period. One of these enactments, issued by the Council and Keys, is to the effect that "the assessment for the reparacon of the churches in this Isle . . . ought to be made on the ffarmers of the quarter-lands according to their respective rents and upon all intack houlders, cottage houlders, Tradesmen and Townes inhabitants according to their abillities, and this to bee made and levyed by the church-wardens for the tyme being in each yeare";² and another, issued by the governor, did away with the ancient method of making up the "church-yard hedge" by the owner of each *treen*,³ which had been generally neglected, and ordered "that the church-wardens of euery year shall out of the assessment of the psh keep in good repaire the church and the church-yard hedge . . . and not to trouble the pshoners to make the said hedge no

¹ In 1655, Castletown chapel was repaired by assessment on the people by order of the governor and officers.

² *Lib. Scacc.*, 1657.

³ See Ballaugh Register, 1600, quoted in *Manx Names*, p. 162. There are, on an average, ten treens in each parish.

more than the church, but by paying their assessment.”¹

One result of the administration of the Manx Church between 1652 and 1660 was, if we are to believe Chaloner, that the people bore “a great esteem and reverence to the Publique Worship of God ; which they testifie by their seldom absenting themselves from the Church ;”² while Bishop Wilson, on the other hand, testified that the Manx Church had “during the Great Rebellion suffered in her doctrine, discipline, and worship,”³ but, judging from the evidence given by the Records, we should incline to the former being the more probable view.

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*, 1660.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. x., p. 11.

³ Quoted by Keble, p. 52.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO BISHOP WILSON
(1660—1698).

THE most important questions during this period are those connected with the efforts of Bishop Barrow to provide better stipends for the clergy, and education for both clergy and laity, and also to regulate the Church and to promote the administration of ecclesiastical discipline. The stringent and successful administration of discipline in Man at this time is all the more remarkable, when we consider that the Restoration was the signal, in England, for an outburst of laxity and irreligiousness. But in Man, as the changes had been small before the Restoration, so the rebound after it was small also. One of the first acts of the restored earl was to reconstruct the Church, and, to this end, he appointed six laymen to act with the archdeacon, Rutter, "for the full settlement of all matters ecclesiastical and civil." The archdeacon does not seem to have been able to come over to the island at that time, so he appointed Dr. Richard Sherlocke, domestic

chaplain to Charles, Earl of Derby, and the Rev. Samuel Hinde,¹ Rector of Kirk Bride, to act in concert with the above laymen as "his lawfull deputies . . . especially in hope to restore the collapsed and most deplorable estate and condition of religion, and the church as well, in that Island." Their ^{Steps taken} first step was to order all the ministers ^{thereto.} to appear before them "in St. Patrick's Church in Peel," when they issued orders and instructions to be observed by them. This was in August 1660, and, in the following month, they ordered that the ministers of the chapels in Douglas and Castletown should "marry, baptize, and church, keeping a fair register," but that the vicars of parishes were to receive "all just dues and ffees" for the same. In October, they appointed the four following clergy ^{Commissioners} as "deputed substitutes for the church ^{appointed.} affairs in this Isle," viz. Sir Hugh Cannel, Vicar of Michael, Sir Robert Parr, Rector of Ballaugh, Sir James Moore, Vicar of Lonan, and Sir John Harrison, Rector of Bride.¹ At the end of the following March these "substitutes" heard a complaint by Patrick Thompson, Vicar of Braddan, to the effect that "though it was against the law for people to take the communion out of their own parish, yet there hath been a general communion held in the Chappell of Douglas . . . where the last Easter were admitted several offenders, presented persons, adulterers, beside some ignorant servants : . . (who do) not understand any word of

¹ Samuel Hinde seems to have died shortly after his appointment, as we find Sir John Harrison Rector of Bride in the same year.

English tongue, or any of Catechism." The Commissioners consequently ordered "y^t no manner of psⁿ shall presume to receive the Communion in any Church or Chapel, but in their own p^{sh} Church." The result

Results of their
action said to
be satis-
factory. of their labours was, according to Bishop Wilson, to settle affairs "to the entire satisfaction of the Lord and People."¹

But, if we are to believe the following account, written in 1663, by Isaac Barrow,² who was both bishop and governor, there was scant reason for such satisfaction, as the state of the Manx clergy and people would seem to have been truly deplorable, though it is probable, considering the prejudice against the Commonwealth and all its rulers, that some of the statements therein are considerably exaggerated :³

State of the
People,
Clergy, and
Church. "At my coming into the island, I found the people for the most part loose and vicious in their lives, rude and barbarous in their behaviour; and—which I suppose the cause of this disorder—without any true sense of religion, and, indeed, in a condition almost incapable of being bettered; for they had no means of instruction, or of being acquainted with the very principles of Christianity. Their ministers, it is true, took upon them to preach; but were themselves much fitter to be taught, being very ignorant and wholly illiterate; having had no other education than

¹ Quoted by Keble. p. 52.

² Rutter, who had been made bishop in 1661, being dead.

³ We may note at this time, 1661, an order of Lord Derby's that "eating of any manner of flesh in Lent or on fasting days should be utterly forborne by all manner of persons of what degree or quality soever."

what that rude place afforded them: not many books among them, nor they intelligent of any but English books, which came very rarely thither. The poverty of the clergy gave no encouragement to such merchandise, their livings not amounting to above five or six pounds per annum, which forced them to engage in all mechanical courses, even in keeping of ale-houses,¹ to procure a livelihood: and this also, together with their ignorance, rendered them despicable to the people, who yet had no way of instruction but from their mouths (for there is nothing either written or printed in their language, which is peculiar to themselves; neither can they who speak it best write one to another in it, having no character or letter of it among them);² Whose manner of officiating in their churches was by an extemporary translation of the English Liturgy into the Manks language; and so likewise of the Holy Scriptures: which, how inconvenient for the people and injurious to the Scriptures it must needs be, we

¹ The following injunction was issued by Bishop Isaac Barrow in 1667: "Haveing had informacon that sev^{rall} Clergie men in this Island doe, contrarie to ancient Canons of ye Church, and the present Con-stitucon and comands of our owne Church, disgrace theire Callinge and pstitute y^{er} houses (w^{ch} should be as schooles of Discipline to the rest of theire p^{ishes}) to Irregular and disorderly meetinges by vendinge ayle and beere and keepinge victuallinge Houses. These are to require all Ministers withiin the Isle aforesaid to forbear this unhansome and undecent Course soe inconsistante with the Dignity of y^{er} p^fession and soe contrary to that studious retirement they are oblidged to by it. And yf any shall hereafter be found guilty of this sordid indecencie he shall for the first tyme be suspended from his office and benefice. And for the second made incapable of any spirituall preferment in this Island" (*Manx Note-Book*, vol. ii., p. 138, from Malew Register).

² See p. 136.

may easily judge, when done by such as do not perfectly understand the English, and much less the meaning of many Texts of Scripture. This being their condition, I suppose the best way of Cure would be to acquaint the people with the English tongue,¹ that so they might be in a capacity of reading Catechisms, and books of devotion: and for this purpose to set up an English school in every parish; and withal, to fit the children for higher learning, in a Grammar School, which was also wanting. And, to vindicate the clergy from contemptible poverty, and free them from the necessity of base employments, an increase of their maintenance was necessary.”² To do away with this deplorable state of things was his earnest desire, and one of his first undertakings to this end, when he came to the island in 1663, was to recover for the Manx Church the abbey share of those tithes of which she had been robbed at the Reformation. With reference to this, it will be remembered, that since the foundation of Rushen Abbey in 1134, the tithe is said to have been divided into three portions, one of which went to the bishop, another to the abbey for the education and relief of the poor, and the third to the parochial clergy.³ This abbey tithe

¹ It is remarkable that Bishop Hildesley, more than 100 years later, thought that the “cure” was to give the Scripture in the *Manx* tongue. If he was right, as seems probable, it is clear that Bishop Barrow would have done more good by providing the people, a larger proportion of whom must have spoken Manx only in 1660 than in 1760, with sacred literature in their own tongue.

² Hildesley's *Memoirs*, pp. 304-5.

³ See p. 35.

had been granted by Henry VIII. and his successors to various persons ; but James I., in the seventh year of his reign, transferred it, "along with the said Isle and Dominion of Man, unto and upon William, then earl of Derby, and Elizabeth during their lives and the life of the survivor of them ;" and it had since then remained in the hands of the Lord of the Isle. It was now, at Barrow's suggestion, granted by him on a lease of 10,000 years to the use of the poor clergy and Church schools of the diocese, in consideration of the sum of £1000 and a fine of £130 every thirtieth year. This money was raised by subscription in England through the bishop's exertions ; the yearly value of the tithes thus obtained, hereinafter called the Improprate Fund, of which we will now continue the history, seems at that time to have been about £100, and for its "quiet enjoyment" the bishop was provident enough to get a collateral security, which, as we shall see, was very fortunate for the clergy.¹ In 1703, James, the tenth Earl of Derby, in consenting to the "Act of Settlement," particularly reserved and excepted these tithes, and declared that the same had been granted by Charles, late Earl of Derby, to the bishop and archdeacon. But upon James's death in 1735, there was a total failure of issue male, and the Duke of Athol, as great-grandson and heir-at-law of James, the seventh earl, claimed the whole of the improprate tithes,² and his claim was incontestable, as the very same title which made the duke Lord of the Isle, made him also

¹ For full particulars about this fund see *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 1—23.

² Subject to a rent-charge, see p. 133.

owner of these tithes. In default of male heirs, the whole was entailed upon the Lady Amelia Stanley, first Marchioness of Athol, and her representatives ; and nothing had been done to cut off the entail. As a deed of alienation, therefore, the act of Earl Charles was null and void ; there was, however, the collateral security above mentioned of "lands and hereditaments within the county of Lancaster, of the value of £2000,"¹ which had now come into possession of Edward, Earl of Derby. The clergy consequently applied for this, after they had recovered the titles of conveyance, which had been mislaid. But they met with evasion and delay, till, in 1741, the earl offered them £1000, which was an absurdly inadequate sum ; and so, in 1742, they commenced legal proceedings against him. In the meantime, the duke helped them by allowing them to enjoy the benefit of these tithes, upon their undertaking to repay the same, when they received the value out of the estates settled for their security. At last, in 1757, after a wearisome lawsuit, the sum of £219 per annum was paid by the Earl of Derby. As time went on, however, it was seen that this sum was much below the real value, and so, in 1809, Bishop Crigan demanded a revision of the valuation. The result of this was that the net annual amount of the tithes was found to be £663 ; Lord Derby therefore agreed to pay somewhat under twenty-five years' purchase upon this sum, viz. £16,000, in order that his estate might be released from the annual payment. This arrangement was confirmed by Act of Parliament (51 Geo. III.), in

¹ *Isle of Man Charities*, p. 11.

accordance with which the £16,000 was directed to be laid out in the purchase of real estate in the Isle of Man. Thus the clergy gained a substantial increase, but lost their chance of a further increase in the future. Moreover, the price of land was unduly inflated at the time their purchases were made, so that they only obtained an income of £400 a year from them. This income is administered by the bishop and the archdeacon, with two other persons nominated by the Duke of Athol, and is applied by them towards augmenting the stipends of those clergymen who are not incumbents.

For the further support of the poor clergy, Bishop Barrow also obtained, by the exercise of his personal influence with the king, the "Royal Bounty," as the grant of £100 a year; ^{Royal Bounty.} payable out of the excise, for the "better maintenance of the poor vicars and schoolmasters," was called.¹ By the various means mentioned, "the allowance of the clergy," said the bishop, "is now raised from five or six, to almost twenty pounds per annum, and will increase, as the leases of the purchased impropriations do expire, to about thirty pounds annually." But the incomes of the clergy, even considering what the value of money was at that time, still remained very small, ^{Clergy's incomes still small.} though, according to a document in the Records in 1685, £17 a year was "thought competence in this Place." In that year, it

¹ Henceforth one of the most frequent entries in the Records is with reference to the difficulty in obtaining this £100.

was arranged that such ministers "as had already £17 arising to them out of the rents and perquisites of their livings should rest therewith contented, . . . but such as had not soe, should be made up to £17."¹

From the list appended to this document, we gather that the incomes of the vicars of the following parishes were: Rushen £8, Arbory £14, Santon £9, Braddan £5, Conchan £8, Lonan £12, Maughold £16, Lezayre £6, the remaining nine parishes having £17 or more.² Besides making up these amounts to £17 each, the money in hand was expended in sundry payments to the vicars-general, the bishop's registrar, and school teachers.³ These teachers were almost invariably the rectors or vicars of the parishes. But this "bounty" was often in arrear, and so we find Governor Sacheverell writing, in 1696, to the Archbishop of Canterbury about "the real and pressing necessities of the clergy,"⁴ "who," he stated, "so absolutely depend on his Majesty's benefaction of £100 a year, which has for more than two years been unpaid, so that the greatest part are fallen into poverty and debt, and three churches are already vacant, the pensions (which are but £3 per annum⁵)

¹ See *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 1—8. Also pp. 134, 146 *ante*, for comparison with incomes previously.

² By order of Privy Council in 1842, the part of this fund which had been paid to the parochial clergy was transferred to the non-parochial clergy.

³ See p. 165.

⁴ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., Introduction, p. xiii.

⁵ This seems inconsistent with the statement above.

being so small." "I know," he continued, "I need no other argument to so great a patron of the Church than to open the misery of our condition, and that your Grace would at least be pleased to retrieve his Majesty's benefaction; and if, by the charity of the Church of England, a means could be found to raise £1000, it would add some tolerable endowments to these poor livings, furnish Bishop Barrow's designed library, and build some convenient academic lodgings, and put us out of condition of making our miseries further troublesome."¹

After providing for the maintenance of his clergy, Bishop Barrow's next care was for *Education*, education, for promoting which he collected in England £600, "the interest of which maintains an academic master; and, by his own private charity, he purchased two estates² in land worth £20 a year, for the support of such young persons as should be designed for the ministry."³ By his will, dated 1679, he provided that the produce of these estates should be confined to the maintenance of three boys⁴ at an academic school, *The academic school*, "when it shall be settled."⁵ The bishop, in fact, designed this school to be a Manx university, as, in his own words, "there being none here able to

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., Editor's Preface, p. xiii.

² Ballagilley and Hango Hill.

³ Wilson, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., pp. 111-12.

⁴ It was provided that if any of these boys did not serve the insular Church he should "pay back such monies as he hath received."

⁵ They attended the old grammar school in Castletown till this was done in 1706 (see p. 216).

give their children an education in foreign universities, . . . there may grow up a clergy of such knowledge and learning among them, as may deserve esteem, and carry an authority amongst the people; as the people may more cheerfully and confidently accept for their spiritual guides, and more readily listen to their doctrine, and submit to their directions." But this school was not built in Barrow's time, though he set apart for it "of the monies collected for these good works, remaining in hand, not laid out, £241;"¹ and from the following letter of Lord Derby's, it appears that one year's revenue of the bishopric was also reserved for this purpose :

"Whereas there is a full accord between the bishops of St. Asaph (Barrow) and the Isle of Man (Bridgman) concerning the profits belonging to the bishoprick of the island from the time of its vacancy, and all disputes and differences between them about any concerns in the island being concluded. And whereas it is agreed between them with my consent and approbation that the whole profits for the year 1671 shall be placed in the hands of William Banks of Winstanley in the Co: of Lancaster, Esq., till we can meet with convenient purchase for the erection of a public school for academical learning. These are to require you to collect the profits aforesaid, and all charges necessary for the collection being deducted, to return the money by the first opportunity, that it may be fixed and employed according to the agreement

¹ For full particulars about this academic fund see *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 24—39.

between us. Given under my hand at Knowly, the 8 June, 1672.

Signed, "Derby-Man.

"In presence of { Isaac Asaph.
Henric Sodorens.

"To the Deputy-Governor of
my Isle of Man." ¹

Nor did the bishop neglect elementary education. For he established a school ² in every parish, at which the ministers taught "for ^{Elementary education.} perfecting their children, and fitting them for the grammar school, which is also there (in Castletown) already settled, with a stipend of thirty pounds a year." ³ It would appear, therefore, that he contemplated the more intelligent children passing from the parochial schools to the grammar school, and, in the case of those who were intended for the Church, from the grammar school to the academic school. In 1689, a school house was erected in Peel through the exertions of Bishop ^{Christian's} Levinz, ⁴ who obtained a settlement of ^{school.} the benefaction of Philip Christian, a member of

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*, 1673.

² The teachers of six of these parochial schools, viz., those in Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey, Andreas, Bride, and Ballaugh, received £3 each from the "Royal Bounty" (*Isle of Man Charities*, p. 7).

³ MS. letter of Bishop Levinz's in Records. This would seem to imply that the ministers only taught the more advanced children, but they really taught the whole school.

⁴ There was then expended £20 on the purchase of the school-house and fitting it up, £10 to school-master for first year's teaching. For use of school-master £12; charges for prosecuting suit, £38; Bishop's expenses, £20.

the Clothworkers' Company and a native of Peel, which had been left, in 1652, towards the maintenance of a free school there, about the payment of which there had been some difficulty.¹ It would seem that Bishop Barrow had also intended to found a library and to provide "convenient lodgings for the academic youths, who are forced to diet in the public-houses in the town,"² but he died before he could carry out these designs.

Another care of Bishop Barrow, who seems to have been a thoroughly practical man, was to clearly define his own jurisdiction as well as that of his subordinates. To that end he caused to be placed in the Records a list of the "Episcopall Causes,"³ and added to them

Church Regu- the following instructions: "(1) We
lations. order and decree, y^t y^e Archdeacon, official, or Reg^{rs} shall have nothing to doe wth our 15 Episcopall Causes above written, but onely to act in such things as are p^rper and belonging to y^t Jurisdiction for y^e halfe yeare, and keepe Reccords for them by themselves.

"(2) That our Viccars Gen^{rl} shall have no power to make substitutes under them, but to act, and execute all things belonging to their place and office in their own persones, and to keep Reccords of all their proceedings on our Registry.

"(3) That our Viccars Gen^{rl} shall not Order, Censure, or Decree any matter or cause Ecclesiastical, severally,

¹ For full details see *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 63-4 and 69. This school is still in existence, and does excellent educational work.

² Sacheverell, *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., pp. 13, 14.

³ See p. 102.

but jointly and unanimously to keep Sheading Courts as form^{ly} and a monthly Court for hearing and determining matters of difference and controversie in the convenient (sic) place that they shall thinke meete.

“(4) That our Viccars Gen^{ll} shall not order or censure causes contrary to our statutes, and spirituall written Lawes ; though there bee some presidents otherwise, notwithstanding the statute in such cases are to be observed, untill y^e Ordinary’s pleasure bee further known touching y^e s^d Statutes.

“(5) That all y^e Ministers wthin this Isle liable to our spirituall jurisdiction shall be carefull, and dilligent in their places and callings, and bee sober, and give good example in their lives and conversacons : be obedient to observe all o^r direcons form^{ly} given touching y^e wors^p and service of God, obedience to y^e canons and Lawes of our Church, and if any offend herein hee is imeadiatly to be censured and punished according to y^e haynousnes of y^e ffacts.

“(6) That no Wills or decrees be proved or made but in a Sheading Court wth Inventorys, and pledges written on whole sheets of paper, except itt bee in some cases of necessitie and not otherwise.

“(7) That our Register shall keep y^e Court Bookes in good order and give in all offend^{rs} names presented to y^e Court to be censured, to call in for certyficat under every Ministers hand touching y^e performance of their sever^{ll} censures into our Records, that all fines may be given into us to mittigate, and then return to y^e comptrollers to be recorded for y^e Lord’s prrogative.

“(8) And Lastly, y^t o^r Reg^r shall take sufficient

Bonds for all children's Goods under years for all ffornicat^{rs} Adulter^{rs}, and all other crimes and offences as hath been usuall and accustomed, and to give in Bonds as formerly used not to relapse under penaltie of forfeiting a ffine to y^e Lord of y^e Soyle. And further we order that all y^e Lycenses, money for marriage and ffees shall be equally divided betwixt our Viccars Gen^{ll}, and that S^r Hugh Cañell shall have power to grant Lycenses in y^e Archdeacons halfe yeare onely, not debarring the Viccr Gen^{ll} notwithstanding of giving Lycenses also, and receiving the ffees, and also y^t all wills that are yet unproved that they be brought in and proved at y^e next Sheading Court, in penalty of 3^{ll} ad usu domini, and in pticular such wills and Decrees to be made hath been lately complained of by Creditors and Legatoryes. Isaac Sod and Man." He next, as we have seen (p. 101), caused such customary spiritual laws and ordinances as had not previously been embodied in writing to be recorded. As they were customary laws, it was not probable that much new matter was introduced at this time; but the mere fact of their being thus defined would lead to their more systematic and close application.

The next reference to any regulation of Church matters in the Records is in 1683, when Bishop Lake issued the following instructions at Convocation :

"Imprimis, that one of the Vicars-General attend on the two head court days.

"It. That the Spiritual Sheading Courts shall not precede y^e Temporal, but immediately follow after theirs is ended.

"It. That no decrees made or wills proved but in

a Sheading Court wherein the Juries are first to be sworn, Presentments called in and after, Wills and Decrees in order with their Inventories.

“It. No matters of controversy, scandal, or differences to be heard and determined but in a consistory court, where all acts and proceedings of any court are to be kept on record.”

On the same occasion registrars' fees, and a fee of fourpence for marriage and fourpence for churching were also fixed ; and it was ordered that parents should cause their children to attend church on Sunday afternoon to be instructed in “y^e Lord's Prayer, the Beleeve, Tenn Commandments, and the Catechisme . . . in such tongue as they Children to be catechized. are capable to learn the same. Those neglecting this to be proceeded against by imprison^t or other punish^t as the law provides.”

We may note that it was at this time that we first hear of the Church encouraging the ancient custom of perambulating the parish boundaries, Perambulation of parishes. which was performed on the Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday before Ascension Day. The occasion of an account of this custom appearing in the Records was that of a dispute between the parishes of Michael and Ballaugh as to their boundaries. This was settled by Bishop Bridgman, who, in 1677, took the oaths of the oldest men in each parish who had been wont to perambulate the bounds.¹

Further regulations were passed at Convocation in 1685, under the presidency of Bishop Levinz :

¹ For full particulars see *Folk-lore of the Isle of Man*, pp. 113—115.

“(1) Every minister to catechise the children and youth of his parish. Those not sending their children to be punished.

“(2) All Parsons and Vicars to preach to their congregations at least once every month and on other Sundays in the morning . . . to read to the people distinctly one of the homilies lycenced by authority.

“(3) Register of Christenings, Burialls, and Marriages to be kept. Neither Baptisms or Churchings to be in houses except in case of necessity.

“(4) Ministers to repair the chancells and Mansion Houses, and to admonish the churchwardens to keep up the body of the church . . . and to provide deacent seates or formes.

“(5) Clergy to observe rubrics.

“(6) To be carefull and diligent in visiting sick.

“(7) Ministers to call in their Churchwardens and Chapter-quest once every month to make their presentments of all crimes and misdemeanours.

“(8) Ministers and Churchwardens to take notice of them that doe not frequent the divine service, and that such person or persons as shall be absent from church more than one Sunday without lawfull cause shall forfeit sixpence.

“(9) Every minister that receives augmentacon from his Ma^{ties} Benefaction, or the Impropriacon money, be obliged to teach an English schoole constantly in his respective parish. Parents who do not send their children to be presented.

“Lastly, lett all these orders be forthwith putt in execution under paine of suspencon or sequestracon, except the Ordinary see just cause to dispense.”

The discipline of the Church, as would naturally be supposed from the foregoing regulations, was administered very strictly at this period. An important step in this direction was the abolition of a money commutation for penance, and the imposition of a fine for the non-production of a certificate from the minister showing that the penance had been performed.¹

Discipline.

The special offences which seem to have been most frequently punished were those against the proper observance of Sundays and Saints' days. Thus, in 1683, it is recorded that: "The clergy complain that pshioners are very remiss and backward in attending Divine Service upon Sundays in y^e afternoon, and alsoe upon Holy-dayes . . . Which thing may redound to the great decay of Christian piety amongst us." Proclamation, therefore, was to be made that "the inhabitants (or one person out of each family at least) shall for the future repair to the parish churches . . . in y^e afternoon, as well as the forenoon, and upon all Holy-dayes and other dayes of prayer . . . under the penalty of forfeiting fourpence."

And, in 1690, Bishop Levinz issued the following proclamation on the same subject: "Whereas . . . the Lord's day is very much prophaned and neglected to the great scandall and dishon^r of our holy profession and decay of Christian piety . . . Wee do order and require that no person within this our Dioceis doe presume to doe any servil work on that day, especially that no fisherman do offer to goe to

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*, 1691. Promulgated at Tinwald in 1691, but not published in statute book.

sea from Saturday at night till Monday morning, and that noe milner do suffer his milne to grind from twelve of the clock on Saturday at night till nightfall on Sunday on a penalty of fourteen days' imprisonm't in St. German's prison, and penance in every church of the Island for the first offence, and for every relaps double punishment and £4 fine to the Lo : use without mittigacon."

Punishments for adultery, slander, bad language, assault, drunkenness, etc., were also numerous. Of the cases of drunkenness at this time, one, *miserabile dictu*, is against a clergyman who was presented by his churchwardens for coming to church one Sunday "much concerned in drink."

The power of the Church in Man at this period was clearly very great. A striking proof of this is the fact that two officers of the Castle Rushen garrison, who were presented for what seems the trivial offence of "Laughing at ye pcession on the Castle Walls as minister and people went by," and "were censured to make publique confession of their offence, and pmise reformation," meekly submitted to the sentence. The Church was, in fact, omnipotent, and we must bear in mind that none of the Acts of Charles II. directed against Nonconformists, viz. the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act, and the Conventicle Act, applied to the island, nor was there any necessity for them, as, with the exception of a few poor Quakers, there

The Quakers. were no Nonconformists there. These Quakers were rigorously treated in Man; the first in-

stance of this being in the time of Lord Fairfax, in 1658, when Chaloner, the governor, prohibited any one from receiving the Quakers into their houses, and prohibited the Quakers themselves from meeting "in the fields, or any out-house or other place on the Lord's day."

Several who persisted in these meetings were imprisoned and then banished from the island. For refusing to attend church and to pay tithes, and other Church dues, they were also heavily fined and imprisoned. Their children were baptized against their parents' will, and their dead were refused Christian burial. After the Restoration, they were treated even more severely by Bishop Barrow. In 1672, when Charles II. issued his Declaration of Indulgence, "the Quakers who had been banished were permitted to return to the island; but, till 1685, they were still persecuted, though to a less extent." After this date, until the arrival of Bishop Wilson, in 1698, no cases are left on record against the Quakers; but whether this is owing to greater toleration or to the very imperfect state of the Records is not known. Bishop Wilson treated the small colony of Quakers with considerable favour, and allowed them to worship in their own way without bringing the law concerning attending churches to bear upon them. One of his biographers, Cruttwell, states that the "few Quakers who resided on the island visited, loved, and respected him." After this time but little is heard of them. Some of them emigrated to America early in the nineteenth century, and most of the rest abandoned their peculiar tenets. There are still a few

descendants of these Quakers in the island at the present time.¹

And what do we learn about the people, other than the Quakers, who were subjected to this severe discipline? We have the evidence of two of their rulers, spiritual and temporal. The former, Bishop Religious condition of the people. Levinz, writing in 1688 to Archbishop Sancroft, said—"God be thanked, I find the people in appearance nothing inclined to popery, tho' we retayne several popish customs heer in this remote place, amongst w^{ch} this is one, that as soon as any person is inter'd all the persons present fall down upon their knees and say their prayers att the grave; of which ask them the reason, they can tell you no other, but that their fathers did so before them: and many other such fopperys wee have, reliques of popish superstition;"² and the latter, Governor Sacheverell, writing in 1696, stated that "the Church of the Isle of Man is strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and though it is as far short of its learning as it is of its revenue, yet, without vanity, it may be said that in its uniformity it outdoes any branch of the Reformed Churches."³ This evidence of the governor's would indicate a great improvement since 1663.⁴

But though the Church was thus at one as regards its doctrines, a trouble arose concerning the payment

¹ For full particulars about the Quakers in Man, see *Yn Lioar Maninnagh*, pp. 281-7.

² MS. letter in Records.

³ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., Editor's Preface, p. xiii.

⁴ See pp. 156-8.

of tithes, which, at a later period, was to attain considerable dimensions. The first mention of anything of the kind was in 1633 and 1634, when certain landowners claimed prescriptions against paying tithes. Their claims seem to have been disallowed, but, owing, perhaps, to some of the Records having been lost, nothing appears about this question, till just after the accession of Bishop Levinz, when it was decided at a Consistory Court that certain prescriptions against paying tithe in kind were null and void, and the prescribers were ordered to pay. The tithe question.

Some of them, however, continued recusant, and, in 1685, Parson Thomas Parr of Malew took the opportunity of his Ordinary's presence on the island to complain that "he hath the Rectorie of his psh (Kk. Mallew) upon a ract (*sic*) rent, and is a looser (*sic*) thereby," and that "many of the pshoners refuse to pay their tythes pretending prescript^{ns}." The recusants were ordered to appear at a Consistory Court, but, as there is no record of this, the result is not known.¹ At a previous Consistory Court, in the same year, the tenants of "Halsall's Land" in the parish of Malew were ordered to pay eleven shillings and threepence "att the Church Alter on paine of forfeitinge their sd prescription on the s^d Land as the Statute provides." Cases of refusal to pay it.

The most serious case of refusing to pay tithe was reported in the Records as follows: A vicar-general having demanded corn tithe, the defendant "laid rude and violent hands upon him by pulling him of (*sic*)

¹ We shall hear more of these "pretending prescript^{ns}" at a later date. See p. 222.

his horse and beating and punching him under him with his ffeet . . . Therefore this being a crime of a very high nature; not only to be transported with passion, but do alsoe violence to a minister of the gospel and (w^{ch} aggravates his s^d crime) to one of the Viccars Gen^{ll} of this Isle, he is therefore excommunicated *ipso facto*, and the Register is to draw up the same in fform of Law and put it in execution, and in the interim is ordered to St. German's close prison." Four days later we find that "the above J* B** (at a Consistory in St. Peter's of Peel) was denounced excommunicate with the great excommunication, and ordered to do penance at the crosses of the 4 Market Towns and at the church-stile of Kk. Malew, and to repeat a schedule." There are also some cases of refusal to pay the Church assèssment.

It is not easy to gather from the Records what was the result of the various proceedings concerning the payment of tithe; but it would appear from what occurred in Bishop Wilson's time, that the revolt against its payment was only temporarily suppressed.

Let us now briefly inquire into the condition of the cathedral and churches of the diocese during this period. With regard to the former, there is no information during the long period between 1291 and 1662, but, in the latter year, we learn that Bishop Rutter was buried "under the uncovered steeple of St German's, then in ruins." Bishop Barrow made several unsuccessful efforts to have it repaired, both by compelling the parishioners of German to work at it, and

Condition of
cathedral
and
churches.

by endeavouring to raise subscriptions; but it was not till the vacancy of the see, after the death of Bishop Levinz, a vacancy which, according to Sacheverell,¹ was continued to provide funds for this purpose, that "the whole cathedral church of S^t German's was repaired at a great expense, and new roofed and covered with blue slate all but the tower, which still lies open."² Various other churches were also repaired and a new chapel at Castletown built out of this fund, which was augmented by the vicarage of Rushen being kept vacant.³

But was it not a miserable state of affairs, when the only way in which the cathedral could be repaired was by refraining from appointing a bishop, and, in like manner, when a parish church required its dilapidations making good, by depriving the parishioners of their pastor? We may at this point briefly continue the history of the cathedral to the present time. In 1722 Bishop Wilson took "a parcel of sheet-lead" from the cathedral for the new parish church of Patrick, but whether it was actually in use for covering the roof of the cathedral or not does not appear. If it was, the comment of the Rev. John Keble—"This is in effect the bishop and the whole diocese passing sentence on their cathedral, and agreeing to despair of its restoration,"⁴—is a just one. But, on the other hand, it is clear that, in 1728, the bishop was anxious to repair the roof of the chancel

¹ *Manx. Soc.*, vol. i., Editor's Preface, p. xiii.

² Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 148.

³ For full particulars about the cathedral see *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxix., pp. 9—21.

⁴ Keble, p. 271.

of the cathedral, and that he was prevented from so doing by the governor.¹ In consequence of this, "the new seats in the chancel, erected by the present worthy bishop (Wilson), as well as the whole fabrick are like to go to decay."² Hildesley was the last bishop installed in the cathedral, and its history from thence till 1858 has been one of gradual decay. Since that time, the roofless walls have been kept from falling by occasional repairs.

We have seen then that, during the epoch of which we are more especially treating, the cathedral was neglected and decaying; and it would appear from some significant entries in the Records, that the churches

Neglect of churches. were also neglected. Thus, in 1683, there was "a great indecency and disorder in all or most of the parish churches," for want of "sufficient and comendable seats." The holders were therefore ordered to "take speedy course for the repairinge and making up of their respective seates and pews in some handsome and orderly manner according to their severall abilityes." There are also notices with reference to the neglect of keeping of registers,

Of registers. which is ordered to be done, while "all decayed or lacerated" old books are to be re-copied; and it is also ordered that "Coppies of all Reg^{rs} be brought in onct euey year to be entered in the Bopps Reg^{ry}."

One reason, no doubt, of this neglect, in addition to the poverty of the Church, was the non-residence of the bishop and archdeacon, who were seldom in the

¹ Keble, pp. 677-8.

² Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 148.

island. To check this evil, the insular Legislature passed an Act, in 1697, to the effect that "every bishop, archdeacon, parson, vicar, Act against curate, or others," who "hold and en- non-residence. joy" any "ecclesiasticall promotion within this Isle, to the value of tenn pounds p Ann or upwards . . . shall personally reside within this Isle, . . . and if any of them shall at any time . . . be non-resident . . . above the space of four months," they shall "forfeitt and loose the full value of one half year's profit" of their "livings, &c." ¹ For the second offence, they were to lose a whole year's income. The forfeitures thus obtained were to be applied to charitable uses.

Of most of the bishops of this period, more is known than of their predecessors. The The bishops. first of them, Samuel Rutter, is said to have been the grandson of John Rutter, miller on the Derby estate at Burscough, in Lancashire. Samuel Rutter. He "was probably sent by the family his forefathers served to Westminster school," and "elected thence in 1623 to Christ Church, Oxford." ² He was appointed Archdeacon and Rector of Andreas in 1646, but he does not appear to have ever resided in that parish. He was James the seventh Earl of Derby's domestic chaplain and confidential friend, and, being tutor to his eldest son, he was constantly with the family. It is evident that the earl was greatly attached to him, as he wrote in one of his letters to his eldest son, Lord Strange,—“He is a man for

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 152-4.

² *Stanley Papers*, Part II., p. 201, Chetham Society.

whom both you and I may thank God ;”¹ and, in his last letter to his children,—“Love the archdeacon, he will give you good precepts.”² He was at Lathom House during the second siege, and was one of the commissioners appointed to treat concerning the surrender of Castle Rushen to the Parliament. On this latter occasion, according to a contemporary newspaper, he proved to be “a man of very timorous spirit.”³

He left the island, in November 1651, with the countess. In November 1660, he was appointed a Prebendary of Lichfield, and, on the 21st of September, 1661, he arrived in the Isle of Man, being installed bishop on the 8th of October.⁴ He only survived his installation six months, being interred in the centre of St. German’s cathedral on the 30th of May, 1662. He was probably a worn-out man when he became bishop. Sacheverell, writing between thirty and forty years after his death, calls him “a man of exemplary goodness and moderation.”⁵

His successor, Dr. Isaac Barrow, who was consecrated in Ely Chapel, London, July 5th, 1663,—his nephew and namesake, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, preaching

¹ *Manx Soc.* vol. iii., pp. 41-2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.

³ *Mercurius Politicus.*

⁴ “Samuëll Rutter by Divine providence Lo : Bope of ye Isle landed in Ronoldsway 7ber 21th, and upon Tuesday after being St Samuëlls day 7ber 24th came to Castle Rushen ; and was installed October 8th.” “Whoever,” comments Mr. Gill, “heard of the 24th September being ‘St Samuel’s Day’? It is hard to acquit the worthy vicar of a desire to flatter the new bishop by canonizing him!” (*Manx Note-Book*, vol. ii., p. 181, from Malew Register).

⁵ *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 91.

on the occasion,—was one of the most distinguished men who have held the office of bishop in this diocese. Keble, who considers him “as thorough a disciple in the school of Laud as any that could well be named,”¹ remarks that “He had been a fellow-sufferer with Sherlock, as with Hammond, and Sanderson, and Taylor, and many other of the brightest lights in the English Church, during the siege of Oxford, and afterwards.”¹ He was appointed governor as well as bishop, being what is called “a sword bishop,” and his authority in the island was consequently very considerable. Of his efforts in promoting the welfare of the clergy, both as regards their material comforts and their education, we have already spoken; also of his zealous upholding of Church discipline, and his consequent persecution of the Quakers. What his contemporaries thought of him is expressed by Sacheverell, who spoke of him as “a man of public spirit and great designs for the good of the Church, to whose industry is owing all that little learning amongst us, and to whose prudence and charity the poor clergy owe the bread they eat.”² And Bishop Wilson, writing in the following century, said—“The name and the good deeds of this excellent prelate will be remembered as long as any sense of piety remains among them”³ (*i. e.* the inhabitants of Man). He was translated to St. Asaph in 1669, but held Sodor and Man *in commendam* till 1671.⁴ He died

¹ Keble, p. 133.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. i., p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xviii., p. 124.

⁴ Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 143.

in 1680, and was buried in the cathedral churchyard at St. Asaph.

His successor, Henry Bridgman (1671—1682), who was likewise Dean of Chester and Rector of Bangor (Flintshire),¹ seems to have paid singularly little attention to his diocese. Indeed there is no record of his having visited the island before 1675, when he purchased Rushen Abbey for an academical school.² His next and only other visit was in 1680, when he held a Convocation and presided in a Consistory Court. He was the donor of a chalice to German parish church. He died in 1682, and was buried in Chester Cathedral.

He was followed by John Lake (1682-4), who “had served in Charles I.’s army at Basing House, Wallingford, and had refused to take the Covenant or the Engagement when he returned to his college (St. John’s, Cambridge). He was ‘gated’ as a suspected person for many months, and ran the risk of taking orders in 1647 from one of the deprived bishops. As archdeacon of Cleveland and prebendary of York, he had taken a prominent part in suppressing disorders in the Cathedral in 1680.”³ He resigned his prebend for the See of Sodor and Man, which had a smaller income. He does not, however, seem to have visited it more than once. This was in May 1683, when he presided at a Convocation at which various useful regulations were passed.⁴ He was translated to Bristol in

¹ Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 143.

² The school, however, was never placed there. See p. 216.

³ Strickland, *Lives of Seven Bishops*. ⁴ See pp. 168-9.

1684, when he took an active part in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion. In 1685, he was again translated, Chichester being the scene of his labours. He became famous as one of the seven bishops confined in the Tower by King James II. This excellent man was a high Anglican in his Church views.

His successor, Baptist Levinz (1684-93), who was a Prebendary of Wells¹ under Bishop Ken, also belonged to the high Anglican school. He was consecrated in March 1684, and was installed in St. German's in the following August. Shortly after this, he presided at a Consistory Court where an important decision was come to about tithe.² We then find him appointing John Parr, the Vicar of Arbory, to be episcopal registrar, ordering the clergy to "take out lycences for preaching and teaching of schooles," and dealing with a serious case of drunkenness in one of the clergy.³ The next glimpse of him is in 1688, when he arranged about the payment of the "Royal Bounty," expressed a needless, as it turned out, fear of "a seminary of Romish Priests and Jesuits"⁴ being established in the island, spoke of his diocese as "a poor desolate place," and of his "title" as being too big for his "scant fortunes to maintain,"⁴ and solicited a prebendal stall at Winchester. At the end of the same year, he issued a proclamation

¹ Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 143.

² See p. 175.

³ See p. 172.

⁴ Letters to Mr. Cholmondeley and Archbishop Sancroft, copies of which are in the ecclesiastical records.

in which he designated William of Orange's landing as "a horrid invasion," and consequently appointed days of humiliation for the people.

In the following year he obtained the arrears of Philip Christian's benefaction, as already related. For this he received an address from the governor and officers expressing their "due and hearty thanks for his Lopps great zeal in affecting that and severall other the like good works for the benefit of the Island." Soon after this he entered upon his long-desired prebendal stall at Winchester, and only visited the island once more, *i.e.* in the summer of 1691, when he was present at the Tinwald.¹ He died at Winchester in January 1693, and was buried in the cathedral there.

According to a contemporary observer,² the value of the Bishop's Court demesne at this time was £200 a year, and the bishop had also "a yearly sallary from the Earl of Derby worth £250 a year," but there is no confirmation of this statement from any other source.

We may note that the question of appeals to York again arose during this period, the following decision of the Tinwald Court having been come to, in 1677, concerning them: "In a conference at a Councell this day . . . ye L^d Bopp. Temporall officers and 24 keys psent; It appears yt there was a mistake about an appeale to Yorke touchinge bona notabilia, from ye sd Lord Bopp unto his Grace, w^{ch} ye sd Councell & 24 keys saith by ye lawes of this Isle, ought not to goe immediately unto

¹ See p. 171.

² Denton MS., lent by Mr. G. W. Wood.

his Grace's prerogative Court in York wthout ffirst acquaintinge ye Lord of this Isle or his Gov^r. Ye Lord Bopp . . . promiseth for his p^{te} to take notice of ye Staffe of Gov^t in ye like case . . . & to pserve inviolably all ye Lord's just progatives accordinge to ye oathes hee hath formerly taken."¹ This looks as if a compromise had been arrived at.

¹ *Lib. Scacc.*, 1677.

CHAPTER VII.

BISHOP WILSON (1698—1755).

WE now approach a period in which the Manx Church was not only to have a ruler of real ability as well as goodness, but was to retain him during more than half a century.

So great was Bishop Wilson's influence on his contemporaries, and so great a part did he play in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical in the Isle of Man, that, during the greater part of his episcopate, his biography is practically the history of the time.

For full particulars about this great and good man, our readers must necessarily be referred to his biographers,¹ as space compels us to make our account of him very brief.

Thomas Wilson was born on the 20th of December, 1663. He was the sixth child of Nathanael Wilson, a farmer, living at Burton in Cheshire, and of Alice his wife. Thomas

¹ Cruttwell, Stowell, and Keble. From the two volumes written by the latter, and published by the Parker Society, much of the information given in this chapter is derived, and is frequently quoted without reference. The writer has, however, also referred to the insular ecclesiastical records during this period, but has found very little that Keble does not mention.

was educated at a school in Chester, and at the age of eighteen was entered at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree in Arts in due course. He was ordained deacon in 1686 at the cathedral church of Kildare, and was shortly afterwards licensed by the Bishop of Chester to be curate at Winwick, in that diocese, the parish of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock. In 1689, he was ordained priest. In 1692, he became tutor to Earl William's son, James, and, in the following year, the earl offered him the living of Baddesworth in Yorkshire, which he declined, as he determined never to accept a living the duties of which he could not perform owing to non-residence. In November 1697, Lord Derby pressed him to accept the Bishopric of Man, which he at first declined, but, after further persuasion, he gave way, and was con- His consecra-
secrated at the Savoy church in London tion.

by the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of Chester and Norwich, on the 16th of the following January, having a few days previously been created a doctor of divinity by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Within a fortnight of his consecration, he was again offered Baddesworth, but he declined it on the same grounds as before. Early in April, he started for his new diocese, being installed in its Installation.
cathedral on the 11th of that month.

We will now briefly consider the chief characteristics of his episcopate. One of the most important and interesting of these, and the one from which the bishop's troubles were mainly to arise, was the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline in the Manx Church, at a period when that of the Church of

England had practically ceased to be administered, and when the Church itself in that country was in

The discipline. a most unsatisfactory condition. It is this with which Bishop Wilson's name is inseparably connected, though, as will be seen when the account of the discipline in his time has been compared with that administered by his predecessors of the seventeenth century, he did not increase its severity,¹ but, on the contrary, endeavoured to mitigate it.²

With a view to this administration of discipline, and to the regulation of his Church generally, he laid, in 1704, his famous "Ecclesiastical Constitutions"³ before the clergy, by whom they were signed, so that, in the words of the preamble, "We may not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men bring upon religion, while they are admitted to and reputed members of Christ's Church; and that we may by all laudable means promote the conversion of sinners, and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the Gospel: And lastly, that we may provide for the instruction of the growing age in

¹ See ch. v., pp. 120—123, and 148-50, and ch. vi., pp. 171-4. The truth of this statement can, however, be only fully appreciated by any one who has carefully studied the ecclesiastical records.

² According to Waldron (*Manx Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 26), "long and uninterrupted custom has made the spiritual court of such an arbitrary authority, that should he (the bishop) derogate from it, he would be in great danger of public opposition as well as private hatred from the whole body of the inferior clergy; he may therefore be said rather to comply with it than approve of it."

³ *Statutes*, pp. 155-9.

Christian learning and good manners.”¹ These fourteen constitutions,² or canons, contain nothing which had not legal sanction before, and it would seem that there were no grievances against the Church at the time, as they were found by the Legislature, whose authority was required to make “some of the Orders and Constitutions in this Synod . . . effectual to the ends they are designed for,”³ to be “very reasonable, just, and necessary.”³

Agreed to by
clergy.

And by legis-
lature.

The articles which refer more especially to the discipline are the following :

“V. For the more effectual discouragement of vice, if any person shall incur the censures of the Church, and, having done penance, shall afterwards incur the same censures, he shall not be admitted to do penance again (as has been formerly accustomed) until the Church be fully satisfied of his sincere repentance; during which time he shall not presume to come within the church, but be obliged to stand in a decent manner at the church door every Sunday and Holy Day the whole time of morning and evening service, until by his penitent behaviour, and other instances of sober living, he deserve and procure a certificate from the minister, churchwardens, and some of the soberest men of the parish, to the satisfaction of the Ordinary; which if

Articles refer-
ring espe-
cially to
discipline.

¹ *Statutes*, p. 155.

² Lord Chancellor King was so pleased with these constitutions, that he said, “If the ancient discipline of the Church were lost it might be found in all purity in the Isle of Man.”

³ *Statutes*, pp. 159, 160.

he do not so deserve and procure within three months, the Church shall proceed to excommunication : And that during these proceedings, the governor shall be applied to not to permit him to leave the island ; and this being a matter of very great importance, the Minister and Churchwardens shall see it duly performed, under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical censures ; and whenever any daring offender shall be and continue so obstinate as to incur excommunication, the Pastor shall affectionately exhort his parishioners not to converse with him, upon peril of being partaker with him in his sin and punishment.

“VI. That the Rubrick before the Communion, concerning unworthy receivers thereof, may be religiously observed, every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall first privately, and then publicly, admonish such persons as he shall observe to be disorderly livers ; that such as will not by this means be reclaimed may be hindered from coming to the Lord’s Table, and being presented, may be excommunicated ; and if any Minister knowingly admit such persons to the Holy Sacrament, whose lives are blemished with the vices of drunkenness, tippling, swearing, profaning the Lord’s Day, quarrelling, fornication, or any other crime by which the Christian religion is dishonoured, before such persons have publicly acknowledged their faults, and solemnly promised amendment, the Minister so offending shall be liable to severe ecclesiastical censures.

“VII. If any moar, serjeant, proctor, or any other person, shall presume on the Lord’s Day to receive any rent or sums of money they shall be liable to

ecclesiastical censure, and shall always be presented for the same.

“VIII. That the practice of commutation as has been formerly accustomed; namely, of exempting persons obnoxious to the censures of the Church from penance and other punishment appointed by law, on account of paying a sum of money, or doing some charitable work, shall for the future cease.¹

“XIII. For the more effectual suppression of vice, &c., the Minister, and Churchwardens, and Chapter-quest shall, the last Sunday of every month, after evening prayers, set down in writing the names of all such persons as without just cause absent themselves from Church.”

As regards the offences which came under the cognizance of the Ecclesiastical Court between 1698 and 1726, when the discipline was most active, a careful comparison has shown that they are similar as regards their total number to those of the previous thirty-eight years, but, as regards their relative numbers, presentments for the non-observance of saints' days became less numerous, though at Convocation in 1708 a special order was made for their observance, while presentments for immorality were as common as ever, and for drunkenness and swearing, against which a proclamation was issued in 1708, perhaps even more common. The punishments for these offences were, as already stated, generally less severe after 1698 than previously, and it may be mentioned with

Comparison of
present-
ments before
and after
1698.

¹ This had already been prohibited by the Act of 1691 (see p. 171).

regard to the penalty of being dragged after a boat in the sea, which was inflicted on one wretched woman, that it was strictly in accordance with the law,¹ and also that the use of the bridle was no innovation.² In 1710, there occurs, for the first time, a difficulty in getting the churchwardens and chapter-quests to present offenders against the spiritual ordinances, but this seems to have been overcome, and a reference to the Records will show that the discipline was vigorously carried on without opposition till 1713, when it came into collision with the official class, whose cordial support had hitherto been given to it.³ This collision arose out of the bishop's practice of mitigating the fines which from time to time

First difference
between
Church and
State.

were laid on offenders by the Spiritual Court, so that, as these fines were levied *in usum domini*, there would be a reduction of the lord's revenue,

which would not be acceptable to Lord Derby, who was already disappointed at the financial results of the Act of Settlement, and dissatisfied with the bargain the commissioners had then made for him. As the bishop had been the chief of the

The discipline
still un-
checked.

commissioners, and as he now declined to surrender his right of reducing the fines, the earl gradually became alienated from him. The discipline was not, however, as

¹ See pp. 108-9.

² *Ibid.*

³ As proof of this, we may note that all appeals from the Church Courts to the Staff of Government had been dismissed, and that a receiver-general who had been accused of embezzlement and perjury was handed over to the Church to be tried for the latter offence.

yet interfered with, and so, in 1714, the bishop's charge at Convocation was mainly directed to the necessity of seeing that censures were properly performed, and that the offenders were not to be received "into the peace of the Church without their giving at least outward signs of repentance." • On the same occasion, he complained that cases of drunkenness were not presented, and ordered that they were to be particularly enumerated among the offences for presentation.

Drunkenness
and ale-
houses.

In connexion with this, attention was called to "the inconveniences and fatal consequences which attend the unlimited number of ale-houses in all parts of this island, whereby many of the people are of late become not only tipplers, but also infamous for sottishness and drunkenness." Representation of this state of things was accordingly made to "the Honourable Governor, that he may confine the privileges of licences for selling ale to a select number."

At last, in 1716, the conflict between Church and State was precipitated by the action of an unfortunate woman, who declined to perform penance, and was consequently excommunicated. She then appealed to the Lord of the Isle, and this appeal was allowed by the governor, though, according to the ordinance of 1636,¹ the appeal in purely spiritual matters was to the metropolitan, the Archbishop of York. It might, however, have been objected that this ordinance was

¹ The governor based his opinion upon the letter of Edward Fletcher in 1627, and the agreement of the vicars-general with it, while the bishop relied on the Act of 1542, Earl James's letter of 1628, and the ordinance of 1636. See ch. v., pp. 99, 123-6.

not legally binding as not being a statute, and that, in any case, it did not absolutely forbid appeals to the earl. The bishop, having been summoned to appear before Lord Derby for a hearing of this appeal, declined to do so, and was consequently fined £10, but, as he afterwards seems to have succeeded in showing the correctness of his view, the fine was remitted. For some years after this, the bishop was left in peace, and he made use of his opportunity by insisting on the necessity of Church discipline at a time "when," according to him, "not only evil practices, but evil books and evil notions are become very common."

In 1720, however, the governor again renewed his opposition to the discipline by refusing a soldier to take offenders who had been committed by the Ecclesiastical Court to prison; his next step, in June 1721, was to imprison and fine the Rev. John Woods, episcopal registrar, for not reading a precept in church because it had not been seen by the bishop; and, finally, he summoned the bishop and his vicars-general to answer the following charges: "First, that the Ecclesiastical Court assume to themselves a power of hearing and determining causes in their Court contrary to the rules that the Statute Law of this isle directs.¹ . . . Secondly, that the Lord Bishop of this Isle calls a convocation, . . . at times and for causes that are not

¹ The principal case alleged was that of Bridson, Vicar of Marown, who had been suspended by the vicars-general for calumny against the bishop.

comprehended in the law for calling a convocation.¹
 . . . Thirdly, that the said Court have taken upon
 them to summon persons not within their jurisdiction,
 contrary to the known laws of this isle.”²

The bishop and his vicars-general declined to
 answer the above summons until it was They decline
to answer.
 “determined by the 2 Deemsters and
 24 keys (the proper judges of such causes) whether it
 was legal and practicable for the attorney-general to
 bring such a charge against a whole Court, where no
 appeal had been made.”³ The governor and Council
 had, in the meantime, condemned them, They are con-
demned in
their absence.
 on all the above counts, in their absence,
 and required them “to retract and cancel”³
 their late proceedings. They also refused their appeal
 to the House of Keys, stating that the attorney-general
 had acted “pursuant to his oath and office,” and that
 “a complaint of this nature is not cognisable before
 the 24 keys, but properly before the Right Honourable
 the Lord of this Isle, who is also Metropolitan and Chief
 of the Holy Church of this Island.” The Question
dropped for
a time.
 case was then dropped for a time. The
 storm was, however, soon to arise again,
 being originated by the governor’s determination to
 prevent any of his household or the soldiers of the
 garrison submitting themselves to ecclesiastical au-
 thority. It would seem that a soldier had sinned in

¹ The last Convocation had been in August instead of at Whitsuntide.

² This refers to the question of the jurisdiction over the garrison, and especially to Horrobin’s case. See p. 196.

³ Note by Bishop Wilson in episcopal register.

a way which would subject him to penance, and, though
 When it again his misdeed had not been discovered,
 arose. he submitted himself to this penalty
 voluntarily. For this he was tried by the comptroller
 and "the Jury of the house within the garrison of
 Castle Rushen,"¹ by whom it was recommended that
 he should "receive such condign punishment . . . as
 his crime demerits." He was consequently impris-
 oned by the governor, and, after being kept in prison
 for fourteen days, was drummed out of the garrison.

Another case involving this question of jurisdiction,
 Horrobin's that of Archdeacon Horrobin, had arisen
 case. a little before this time. The arch-
 deacon, who was also the governor's chaplain, had,
 in October 1721, expelled one of his congregation,
 a widow, from the sacrament because of some
 slanderous remarks made by the governor's wife
 against her. The widow appealed to the bishop, and
 demanded an investigation. This was granted, and,
 as the governor's wife could not prove her statements,
 the widow, having cleared herself of the charge upon
 oath with sufficient compurgators, according to Manx
 spiritual law, was permitted to take the sacrament,
 while the governor's wife was required to make an
 apology and ask forgiveness before being admitted to
 it. This she declined to do, but came, notwithstand-
 ing, to the sacrament, and was admitted by the arch-
 deacon. For this, and for some unorthodox doctrines²

¹ This seems to have been a sort of standing court-martial.

² He appears to have said that "great and good actions,
 wherever found, were sufficient to obtain the rewards of another
 life," and that "a man may be saved in any religion if he live
 well" (see Keble, pp. 425-6).

in his sermons, he was called to account by the bishop, and, as he failed to defend himself satisfactorily, he was suspended at Convocation in 1722. The arch-deacon, instead of appealing to the Archbishop of York, threw himself into the hands of the governor, who now took up the case against the bishop and vicars-general with renewed vigour. His first step was to send them a copy of the decision in Bishop Phillips's time,¹ to the effect that the lord's or governor's household, officials, and soldiers were exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²

The governor next required them to "retract and cancel" their late proceedings against the arch-deacon and Bridson; and, finally, he closed the chapel at Castletown without any pretext whatever. The bishop and his coadjutors replied to this attack by delivering a public protest to the governor at Tinwald. In this protest they denied his jurisdiction over them, and again demanded "to have the Deemsters and 24 keys called to deem the law truly."

They were, however, unable to persuade any of the Council to record their protest, and the governor expressly denied the Archbishop of York's authority, declaring not only that the Earl of Derby was and should be metropolitan, but also that he, the said governor, would punish any person that should in any case presume to appeal to the archbishop. The Keys having then departed from the Tinwald

¹ See p. 123.

² It would seem that the recent practice, if not the ecclesiastical law, as regards exemption from Church censures, was in accordance with the governor's view, though the general practice, during the seventeenth century at least, told in the bishop's favour.

without having been consulted, the governor and the Council proceeded to fine the bishop £50 and the vicars-general £20 each "for their contempt." This being without the sanction of the House of Keys, was, of course, absolutely illegal. They refused

Imprisonment
of bishop
and vicars-
general.

Popular feeling
in their
favour.

to pay the fines, and were consequently imprisoned¹ in Castle Rushen, in June 1722. This action all but caused a popular tumult, for the people "considered the bishop, and that very justly, not only as their faithful pastor and unwearied benefactor, but as the champion likewise of their political rights and liberties."²

The prisoners determined, by the advice of the Archbishop of York and others, to bring their case before the Privy Council. In doing so they prayed for the king's order for their release, "they being ready to give security for the payment of the fines if the same shall be legal."³ They asked also that their accusers should return their answer in writing, and that they should have free recourse to the insular records to prepare their case. Their prayer was, after some delay, granted, and, the order for their release having arrived, they were discharged after nine weeks' imprison-

Their treat- ment. It would appear that during
ment. the greater part of this time their letters
and friends were kept from them, and they were

¹ The window of his cell, from which he is said to have given his blessing to the people who flocked from all parts of the island to receive it, is shown to this day. It was usual, as noted by Bishop Hildesley, for the people "upon meeting their diocesan to kneel down on one knee and ask his blessing" (*Memoirs*, p. 98). ² Keble, p. 519. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

treated generally with considerable harshness. The day of the bishop's release "was a day of general jubilee throughout the island. Joy at their release.

. . . Never were there more sincere congratulations than were expressed on this occasion. Old and young, rich and poor, broke forth into acclamations of joy, and formed such a procession as had never before been witnessed."¹

His first step on his release was to collect the evidence for his case against Lord Derby, the governor, and the officers, which was not settled till July 1724. This long delay was partly owing to the governor being unprepared with his documents, but partly also to the lagging steps of the law. At last, on the 4th of July in that year, the Privy Council met, and ordered that the "judgements or sentences given by the Governor, Council, and Deemsters of the

Decision of
Privy Council
in favour of
bishop.

Isle of Man on the 9th and 10th days of February 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ be reversed and set aside, in regard they had no jurisdiction. And for that the order signed by the Governor as made at a Court of Tinwald the 25th day of June, 1722, was not an order of that Court; that therefore the fines imposed by the said order upon the said Bishop and Vicars-general be restored to them."² The further petition of the bishop, and vicars-general against the governor and officers, for disrespect to the royal authority in their way of receiving the orders in Council was also adjudicated upon at the same time, it being decided that "such

¹ Stowell, *Life of Bishop Wilson*, p. 177.

² Ecclesiastical records.

contempts" had been proved. The arrest of the governor was consequently ordered, but does not seem to have been carried out. The decision was thus, as far as it went, in favour of the bishop, but it must be remembered that the two principal points in dispute—the question of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, whether they were to the lord or to the arch-bishop, and the liability of the earl's household and soldiers to Church censures—were left untouched.

Verdict.

It is interesting to find that, in "a Summary of Grievances" presented to Lord Derby at this time by a deputation from the House of Keys, redress is sought for the grievances of the Church, which included the points recently in dispute between the bishop and the governor, as well as for the grievances of the State.

Sympathies of
the Manx
with the
bishop.

It is clear, therefore, that the sympathies of the country were with the bishop and his administration of Church discipline. But the only result of this protest seems to have been that Lord Derby sent a governor, Lloyd, who was even more hostile to the Church than his predecessor. For he went so far as to give soldiers' places to those who had incurred Church censures. This governor's career soon, however, came to an end, and, for a time,

Better relations
between
Church and
State.

there were symptoms of better relations between Church and State. Thus, at the Tinwald in 1725, the bishop was permitted to lay before the court the question as to whether or not his demand of a soldier from the garrisons to carry out ecclesiastical censures,

which had recently been denied, was legal or not. The court decided this point in his favour, and the deputy governors promised that its decision should be carried into effect in future. At this time, too, the chapel at Castletown was re-opened, the attempt to authorize publications in church without the bishop's consent was virtually abandoned, and the fine inflicted upon the Vicar of Malew was remitted.

As regards the discipline, it seems for some years after the bishop's imprisonment to have been administered as vigorously as ever.

Condition of
the discipline.

The Records are full both of presentments and of the punishments inflicted, and there are some notable cases of submission and repentance recorded, especially that of the obdurate offender mentioned above,¹ who did penance in the autumn of 1722. And it was significant of the altered circumstances that the archdeacon submitted, in October 1723, and was, consequently, restored to his office and benefice. But, in 1725, with the appointment of Governor Horton,

who was "unfortunately most prejudiced against the Church, Churchmen in general, and in particular the laws and discipline of this Church,"² this brief

Prospect of
better relations
spoiled
by new
governor.

period of better relations between Church and State came to an end. He brought with him a letter from Lord Derby, in which the earl claimed that the insular spiritual laws were abolished by the Act of 33 Henry VIII., by which the Isle of Man became part of the province of York—a claim which had not

¹ See p. 193.

² Bishop Wilson's letter (MS.).

hitherto been heard of. But it was nevertheless to be speedily put in force by the governor promptly quashing the recent decision granting soldiers to put in execution the orders of the Ecclesiastical Court. This was naturally a great blow to the Church and to her discipline, as recusants could now set her censures at defiance. As regards her spiritual laws, however, it would seem that for some time past their revision had been desired by the clergy as well as the laity. To this end, some of the Keys, with the concurrence of the bishop and clergy, had transmitted to the earl, through the governor, a draft of certain amendments and alterations, and also a draft of an order to be signed by the earl, mitigating the severity of the execution of some of the spiritual laws until the revised code might become law. He signed the order accordingly, but, instead of doing as the House of Keys wished, he suspended the whole code until "it should be amended and revised by the Legislature." The House of Keys at once remonstrated against this order, pointing out that "the consideration of the Spiritual Customary Laws will take some time before they can be concluded upon and published,"¹ and "that, if a suspension or stop shall be put to the execution of the said Customary Laws . . . till other be substituted in their stead, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction will for so long a time . . . be in great measure, if not entirely, at a stand, no debts can be recovered, nor the people, so far as depends on these courts,

Revision of
spiritual laws
suggested.

But Lord
Derby sus-
pends them.

Keys protest
against this.

¹ Keble, pp. 673-4.

be secure in body, goods, or fame ; and an encouragement will unavoidably ensue to all vice and immorality, which of late is but too notorious among us.”¹ They concluded with requesting that “this our representation may be recorded, and a copy thereof transmitted with all convenient speed to our Right Honourable Lord.”¹

This very reasonable request was refused by the governor, and so the Church and the Civil Government were once again at open war. The governor then (1727) took the extraordinary

The contest continues.

step of depriving the sumner-general, who had been appointed by the bishop in 1712, and appointing another in his place, though this officer seems usually² to have been appointed by the bishop. The bishop thereupon remonstrated at the Tinwald Court, and asked “that the two deemsters and twenty-four keys” might “deem the law truly” on this point. No notice was taken of this request, and the governor and the lay members of the Council departed from Tinwald before the bishop could get an opportunity of laying his grievance before the court. The

bishop consequently sent a memorial to Lord Derby, and the House of Keys also forwarded a petition to him. Lord

Question referred to Privy Council.

Derby, however, refused all redress, and so the House of Keys appealed to the king in Council. In reply to this appeal, the governor and his officers

¹ Keble, pp. 673-4.

² Only one case is on record before 1727 of this officer being appointed by the lord (see pp. 126-7), but after that date he was invariably appointed by him. (See Keble, pp. 697—702.)

prepared a draft¹ of their view of the case to be laid before the same body. In this they stated, with reference to ecclesiastical matters, that "many of the clergy of the . . . isle . . . have, against the ties of gratitude and allegiance, been for several years last past very active and restless in opposing the civil government . . . and in exalting the ecclesiastical power in opposition to it." That "the arbitrary practice and proceedings of the Spiritual Courts . . . are carried on and exercised to the great destruction and ruin of numbers of families there ;" and that the power thus "arrogated by the Bishop and clergy" is "utterly destructive of and inconsistent with the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, and with the Protestant religion itself." They added that the assistance of soldiers claimed by the Ecclesiastical Court had been abused by their having sent "the poor people" to prison "on sundry trifling occasions," and that, "as the appeal to York was too expensive, though it was the only way of the said poor people being released from prison," the governor, "to prevent the rights and liberties of the people . . . from being overturned and destroyed by such pretended Church power," had refused the aid of the soldiers. And they further stated, that the spiritual customary laws² were "only divers absurd arbitrary pretended practices, devised, contrived, and from time to time made use of by such clergy as were officers of the ecclesiastical court at their own pleasure, and never received or had any

¹ It is not known whether it was presented or not.

² This can only refer to the laws of 1667, not those of 1610.

sanction or authority, consent or allowance of the lord or legislature of the said island." And that "the temporal laws of the said Isle are sufficient, and the only proper national security for body, goods and fame of every subject." Nothing more, however, was heard of the case on either side, possibly on account of the want of funds on the part of the appellants. Thus were the administrators of the discipline subjected to a series of rebuffs which were clearly approved of by the earl, who went so far as to remit an excommunication, and the governor caused his order to this effect to be published in Kirk Braddan, in spite of the bishop's protests. It was, indeed, clear by this time that the discipline, as far as moral offences at least were concerned, was failing, and the governor further undermined its authority and received assistance in his attacks upon it by having got the House of Keys on his side. This he effected by the simple method of removing eleven of those who were opposed to him and by substituting his own creatures.

The Chapter Courts, however, still continued to be held, and, though it would seem from the ecclesiastical records that there were often no presentments, some few offenders were still censured, and underwent penance. It would appear, too, that voluntary submissions to penance became more numerous than formerly, which showed that the system still met with considerable approval. Among presentments at this time, were those of two women for sorcery; and, at Kirk Lonan, the

Nothing more
heard of the
case.

The discipline
began to fail.

Nature of
presentments.

curate presented "a general neglect of his whole parish in attending divine service upon the feasts of the Church;" and, in the same parish, the curate and wardens represented to the court that "there is a superstitious and wicked custom of going to the top of Snæfell mountain upon the first Sunday in August."¹ This custom was condemned by the court, and an order was made that those practising it should "be proceeded against with severe ecclesiastical censures." During this period (1726-36), there had been several convictions for robbery, previously a rare crime in the island, and smuggling was becoming the chief business of its inhabitants.

Against these offences, the bishop fulminated in a pastoral letter to his clergy, and he asserted in his *Episcopalia* that "this surpassing growth of wickedness"² was due "to the great contempt that of late has been put upon the discipline of the Church."²

But now a new *régime*, that of the Atholes, the Earl of Derby having died in February 1736, was to begin; and the change was a favourable one for the Church, as the ecclesiastical laws, instead of being abrogated, were reformed in a way which was probably in conformity with public opinion. Thus "the custome and practice of delivering over Persons excommunicated in the spiritual Court, Body and Goods, to the Lord of the Isle,"³ was put an end to, the delinquents, if obstinate, being confined for three months; and compulsory, though not voluntary, compurgation was to cease.³

¹ See *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, p. 121.

² Quoted by Keble, p. 773. ³ *Statutes*, pp. 212-25.

The result of this legislation seems to have been that the number of ordinary disciplinary cases decreased, and that there was a marked absence of disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts.¹

But there was another cause for the decadence of the discipline, as well as of all spiritual life, viz. the pursuit of smuggling, which still continued to increase. From the demoralization this caused, and from the uncertainty about the Improprate Fund,² arose a difficulty in obtaining suitable men to take Holy Orders, and so hard pressed was the bishop in this respect, that we find him getting leave from the Archbishop of York to ordain before the usual age. The men thus ordained were frequently very unsatisfactory, and we consequently find a great increase of censures on clergymen, as well as numerous exhortations to them from the bishop.

About the administration of the discipline in his later days, the bishop continued as earnest as ever. Thus, in 1749, he asked the clergy "to be very serious and earnest in their public and private admonitions of persons under Church censures ;" and he ordered that "the presentments of every circuit may be laid before him before the censures are sent out." But it was all in vain, as the presentments became fewer, and the penalties inflicted fewer still and much lighter in character, seldom

Result of new
legislation.

Of smuggling.

Discipline dur-
ing Bishop
Wilson's
latter days.

¹ In 1748 a new scale of fees for spiritual officers was fixed. See *Statutes*, p. 253.

² See pp. 159-60.

exceeding an admonishment. This was partly due, doubtless, to the failing health of the bishop, but also to the spirit of the time.

To our brief survey of the administration of the discipline as it appears in the Records, we may add the evidence of a contemporary and alien witness,¹ who remarked that the laws were put into execution

Waldron's evidence. by the ecclesiastical courts with severity, and that the clergy held "a kind of

tyrannical jurisdiction over the Manks people, in spite of the temporal power, which is continually endeavouring to abate the rigour of it, but in vain; for these spiritual masters are, in a manner, idolized by the natives; and they take care to maintain their authority by keeping the laity in the most miserable ignorance."² He also stated that the discipline was "perpetually dinn'd into the ears of the laity," that they were under "the indispensable obligation of submitting to it,"³ and that "the abject creatures are drove to prison like sheep to a fold, and from thence to publick penance, as quietly as those beasts are to the slaughter; deterred, on the one hand, from murmuring by the threatenings of severer punishments; and persuaded, on the other, that patient submission to the inflictors is the supremest merit in the eyes of heaven."³ He declared, too, that the methods taken by the Church to prevent fornication have not been successful, and that "the custom of purging or swearing innocence leads to perjury."⁴

¹ George Waldron, who was employed by the British Government to report on the import and export trade, and who wrote between 1710 and 1730.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

But it is not difficult to show that this indictment is an exaggeration, as, if the jurisdiction of the bishop and clergy had really been so tyrannical as he states, it would have alienated the people from them, whereas it is clear that the bishop, in particular, was most popular; and, as regards the statement that the people were kept in ignorance, it is sufficiently disposed of by referring to the account given of the bishop's constant endeavours to promote education by establishing schools and libraries in every parish.¹

Having thus seen how the Manx Church administered her discipline, as regards moral offences, under Bishop Wilson, let us inquire how she provided for the religious needs of the people, and compelled them to conform to her ordinances as to services, &c. On reference to the canons of February 1704,² we find that some of them regulated the Church
services. services of the Church, especially Confirmation and the Holy Communion, thus :

“I. That when a Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall have any number of persons, under twenty, of his parish desirous and fit to be confirmed, he shall give the Lord Bishop notice thereof, and a list of their names, and Canons regu-
lating Con-
firmation and
Communion. shall suffer none to offer themselves but such as he has before instructed to answer in the necessary parts of Christian knowledge; and who, besides their Church Catechism, have learned such short prayers for morning and evening as shall be immediately provided for that purpose.

¹ See pp. 216-17.

² *Statutes*, pp. 155-6.

“II. That no person shall be admitted to the Holy Sacrament till he has been first confirmed by the Bishop; or (in case of his Lordship’s absence or indisposition), to bring a certificate from the Arch-deacon, or Vicars-General, that he is duly qualified for confirmation.

“III. That no person be admitted to stand as godfather or godmother, or to enter into the holy state of Matrimony, till they have received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; unless, being an orphan, there be a necessity for his speedy marriage; and this to be approved of and dispensed with by the Ordinary for a limited time, to fit himself for the Sacrament; and where any of them are of another parish, they are to bring a certificate from their proper Pastor.

“IV. That all children and servants unconfirmed, of such a division of the parish as the Minister shall appoint (which shall be at least one-fourth part thereof), shall constantly come to evening prayers, to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; at which time every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall employ at least half-an-hour in their examination, and explaining some part of the Church Catechism; and that all parents and masters who shall be observed by their children’s and servants’ ignorance to be grossly wanting in their duty, in not teaching them this Catechism, shall be presented for every such neglect, and severely punished. And, to the end that this so necessary an institution may be religiously observed, every Minister shall always (by the assistance of the Churchwardens) keep a catalogue of such

persons as are not confirmed, and is hereby required to present those that are absent without urgent cause, who shall be fined twopence the first Sunday they omit to come, fourpence the second, and sixpence the third ; in which case the parents are to be answerable for their children, and masters for their servants ; unless where it appears that the servants themselves are in the fault."

This duty of catechizing was not only inculcated in the canons, but was constantly referred to in the bishop's Convocation charges. As late as 1747, he insisted

Duty of catechizing insisted on.

more strongly than ever "upon the duty and necessity of catechizing in the Church," which, he remarked, is "bound upon us as strictly as laws, and canons, and conscience can oblige any minister of God ;" and, at the same time, he referred to the petty schools, which he had established in each parish, as the places where this good work should be carried on. He also thanked the clergy who had "broke through a bad custom of having the Lord's Supper administered in country parishes only three times a year," and called attention to the desirability of observing "the rubric which requires such as intend to receive to give in their names the week before." Some years before this, he had issued an order to

And of more frequent Communions.

all the clergy to observe strictly the rubric for the office of Public Baptism, and to take care that the whole Morning or Evening Service be read "when-ever any child shall be baptized on any other day besides Sundays or holy days, lest the Holy Sacra-

ment of Baptism degenerate into a formal ceremony."

Regulations about Baptism and Confirmation. Confirmation also received due attention, as, at Convocation in 1738, it was ordered "that the names of all persons confirmed shall for the future be recorded in the Church Registries." This was a matter of some importance, as no unconfirmed person could then be admitted to be married without special dispensation.

Observance of Sundays and Saints' Days. There were frequent regulations, too, for enforcing due attendance at church both on Sundays and Saints' days. Thus, at Convocation in 1716, it was ordered "that there be particular care taken that the parishioners duly attend evening prayer," and "that those families & other persons who are notorious for absenting from Divine Service on the Holy days and solemn Feasts of the Church, be reprov'd by the rector or vicar. And if afterwards they continue obstinate, they are to be presented & censured." And, on a similar occasion, the following notice was issued:—"Forasmuch as a late indulgence in relation to holidays has been shamefully abused; it is ordered that for the future all the Festivals and solemn Feasts of the Church shall be religiously and strictly observed by all persons within this diocese, according to the ancient and laudable custom of this church, by attending God's public worship, and abstaining from work on those days." Negligence in method of conducting service. A very strong admonition was at the same time issued against fishing on Sunday. The clergy, too, had their share of admonition, as

the bishop commented on the negligence and irregularity of some of them reading "the service of the Church after an hasty, careless, and indecent manner," and on the "notorious indecency of the clerks hurrying the responses, and psalms, and hymns as fast as ever they can clatter them over," by which they "lead the people into the same error." With reference to preaching, he made the following Bishop's remarks pregnant remarks: "As to sermons, I on preaching. am confident that a good deal may be done towards hindering the growing sins of these times, if all the clergy would but seriously lay to heart the real and present necessities of their own people, and speak to them after a plain and affecting manner, and not make their sermons harangues and their own particular fancy." But many of his younger clergy were not capable of preaching, and so he ordered that "the curates of vacant livings, being deacons, shall for the future on the Lord's day at Morning Service plainly, distinctly, and audibly read one of the Younger clergy to read Homilies. Homilies of the Church, standing in the reading desk." What the result of these regulations was, we learn from Bishop Hildesley, who wrote, in 1755: "Never did I see more justice done to our excellent Liturgy in any place than in the congregations of this Isle, whether it be in Manks or English, the responses were duly made, and the directions of the rubric punctually and regularly attended to, in kneeling and rising in proper time and place,"¹ and, in 1762, "the adult natives, to a man, I think I may say, are conformists of the established com-

¹ *Manx Church Magazine*, p. cxiv.

munion of the Church of England ; and so exact and punctual, for the most part, in their attendance on the public offices of divine worship, and especially at the sacrament (there being no less than six hundred at the communion in a country parish church at Easter), that there is little or no occasion for presentments on this head.”¹

Another subject which received much attention from the bishop was that of parochial organization. Thus each rector or vicar was advised to keep books with “a particular register of every family in his parish, with the times he visited them, in what state he found them, and what hopes he had of reforming what he found amiss in them.” As a further means of increasing their knowledge of their respective parishes, he promoted the observance of the old custom of perambulating the boundaries, and he provided them with a form of service to be read when doing so.² He also enjoined upon them the necessity of maintaining the churches, parsonages, schools, and parochial libraries in good order, and of attending to the regular keeping of the registers. Another notable point in Bishop Wilson’s episcopate was his earnest care for the promotion of education ; and it is especially worthy of remark, that he made it compulsory, as appears from the following clause, which was among the canons which became law in 1704: “IX. For the promotion of religion, learning, and good manners, all persons shall be obliged to send their

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 419.

² See *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, pp. 114—117.

children, as soon as they are capable of receiving instruction, to some petty school, and to continue them there until the said children can read^e English distinctly, unless the parents give a just cause to excuse themselves, approved of by the Ordinary in open court: And that such persons who shall neglect sending their children to be so taught shall be fined one shilling per quarter to the use of the schoolmaster, who may refuse to teach those children who do not come constantly to school (unless for such causes as shall be approved of by the Minister of the parish), and their parents shall be fined as if they did altogether refuse to send them to school."

By the next clause, the schoolmasters received fees in addition to their salaries: "X. And for the further encouragement of the schoolmasters, they shall respectively receive, over and above the salaries already allowed them, sixpence quarterly from the parents of every child that shall be taught by them to read English, and ninepence quarterly from such as shall be taught to write; which sums being refused, the sumner shall be ordered to require punctual payment within fourteen days; and upon default thereof they are to be committed till they submit to law." Two wise provisions follow: "XI. Notwithstanding, where the parents or relations are poor, and not able to pay as aforesaid, and this be certified by the Ministers and Churchwardens of the parish to the Ordinary, such children are to be taught gratis. XII. And whereas some of the poorer sort may have just cause, and their necessities require it, to keep their children at home for several weeks in the summer and harvest;

such persons shall not be liable to the penalties aforesaid, provided they do send such children, during such absence from school, every third Sunday to the parish church, at least one hour before evening service, there to be taught by the schoolmaster, to prevent losing their learning: and if any schoolmaster shall neglect his duty, and complaint be made and proved, he shall be discharged, and another placed in his stead, at the discretion of the Ordinary: And every Rector, Vicar, or Curate shall the first week of every quarter visit the petty school, and take an account in a book of the improvement of every child, to be produced as often as the Ordinary shall call for it.”¹

In 1706, he was able to devote a considerable sum to educational purposes, as in that year he received orders from the trustees of the “Academic Fund,” who then had more than £1200 in their hands, to invest £650 to increase the salary of the academic master at Castletown; £250 for a grammar school in Douglas; and, with the remainder, to liquidate certain outstanding claims. This grammar school in

Douglas, which had for long been greatly needed, as the population of that town was rapidly increasing, was placed under the charge of the chaplain of the new chapel dedicated to St.

Matthew, which was built at that time.

The academic school at Castletown was now established in the old chapel, the grammar school being carried on in the same building and under the same head-master. The parochial schools, other than those which received the “Royal Bounty,”² also

¹ *Statutes*, p. 158.

² See p. 164.

gained considerable additions to their endowments, chiefly through the charity of Lady Elizabeth Hastings.¹ The bishop was thus enabled to relieve the clergy of their teaching duties by appointing masters or mistresses to take charge of the schools. These teachers were, in the terms of their licences, "to instruct the children in learning and good manners," to "be diligent in teaching them the Church Catechism and their prayers," and to "bring them up in the fear of God." But though the clergy were relieved of their teaching duties, they were still required to visit the schools frequently, and, at Michaelmas and Lady-day, to return to the bishop the number of scholars, the books they read, and their proficiency. More advanced education also benefited at this time by private benefaction. Thus, the grammar school at Peel, founded in 1746, was the gift of a private donor, who endowed it with a sum of £500, and appointed the bishop and twenty-four Keys trustees, so that, in the words of his will, "the income should be paid unto a proper school-master qualified to teach Latin, or such other learning as may fit youth for the service of the country in Church or in State."²

Clergy still had to visit the schools.

Further endowments.

While thus providing for the young, the bishop did

¹ These schools now get about £4 4s. each annually. For full particulars see *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 40-2. See the same for other charitable bequests, among which the most valuable was the clergy's "Widows and Orphans Fund," initiated in 1730, at the suggestion of Dr. Thomas Wilson, the bishop's son (pp. 45-50).

² *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 63, 69.

not neglect the needs of those beyond school age. To this end, he carried out a project for Parochial libraries. founding public libraries in every parish and town throughout the island, and he tried to ensure their being cared for by obtaining an Act of Tinwald, which made the rectors and vicars of each parish accountable for the books in them.¹

As a further means of educating and edifying his people, he published various religious Religious publications. books in the Manx language. The first of these was *The Principles and Duties of Christianity*; then followed *A further Instruction for such as have learned the Church Catechism, and plain short Directions and Prayers*; *A Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper*, and *The Gospel of St. Matthew*. This last is said to have been translated by him and his vicars-general when confined in Castle Rushen in 1722,² but it was not published till 1748. Before his death, the Gospels of SS. Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles were translated, though not published. It certainly seems strange that, with all his zeal, not only for the education but also for the spiritual welfare of his flock, Bishop Wilson did not undertake the translation of the Bible and Prayer-book into Manx, especially as two-thirds of the people spoke no other language.³

¹ *Statutes*, p. 208.

² *Hildesley's Memoirs*, p. 42.

³ Bishop Hildesley wrote of this educational system, etc., as follows: "Every parish has a petty schoolmaster or mistress to teach the Bible and Church Catechism and private prayers in English, and no master or mistress is allowed to teach without the Bishop's licence or appointment, or receive their salary without a certificate from the ministers of respective parishes, who are

The next point we may notice is the energy in church building and restoration displayed during this period. Space will only permit us to note briefly what was done. Church building and restoration.

Castletown Chapel in 1698, and St. John's chapel in 1704 were built mainly from the funds which had accumulated during the vacancy of the see. Lezayre church was also built in 1704, St. Catherine's chapel, Ballure, in 1706, and St. Matthew's Chapel, Douglas, in 1708. In 1710, "the bishop," in the words of the preamble of the Patrick Parish Church Act, "laying it seriously to Heart of what evill Consequence it has been that the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Patrick's have for some ages past been destitute of a place of worship within the said parish, is resolved, God willing, to promote the Building of a new Parish Church."¹ It would appear that the old parish church, which had been in ruins for centuries before this time, is actually situate on Peel Island, which is remote from the greater part of the parish, and was then inaccessible, except at low water. This fact affords a significant commentary upon the state of neglect into which the churches throughout the island seem to have fallen before this

obliged to visit the school for that purpose, to see whether they do their duty." As to the language: "What is very remarkable, there is no grammar, or spelling, or any other book in the Manx tongue, excepting the Gospel of St. Matthew, and some few translations of the Catechism. All are taught to read English, and scarce write any other, and yet both clergy and laity are extremely tenacious of their own language. If you ask how they perform the service and preach in Manx, I believe chiefly by translating it from the English before them, which by habit and pains they have acquired a readiness in" (*Manx Church Magazine*, p. cxiv).

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 183-6.

time. In 1717, an addition was made to Ballaugh church;¹ in 1733, a church was built at Lonan; in 1745, a chapel was built near Ramsey on the site of Bishop Parre's old building; and, in 1747, Malew church was thoroughly repaired. In addition to this church building, rectory and vicarage houses were built or repaired in nearly every parish in the island. For it would appear by the "Glebe Houses" Act of 1734, that "several of the vicarages and one of the Rectorys now and for some ages past have not had Houses upon them . . . some others being in a Ruinous Condition."² It was, therefore, enacted that a rector or vicar building a house on his glebe land was to receive two-thirds of his expenditure from his successor, and the successor was to receive one-third of original expenditure from the next incumbent. Each incumbent was to be responsible to his successor for dilapidations. Several new glebes were added by the bishop's exertions.

The style of his church building is favourably criticized by a recent and capable critic, who says that he "quite caught the old spirit of Manx churches,"³ and that "he was faithful to the type,⁴ and preserved it, in all instances."³

¹ See p. 50.

² *Statutes*, p. 208. This was repealed by the "Ecclesiastical Residences and Dilapidations" Act, 1879, by which money may be borrowed by incumbents to improve their residences. This money to be paid off in thirty years, and the apportionment of payment between an outgoing incumbent and his successor to be "in such proportions as they shall be respectively entitled to receive the profits of the benefice for the year in which such avoidance may happen."

³ Neale, p. 34.

⁴ See p. 50.

It should be recorded, that, on Bishop Wilson's arrival in the island, he found Bishop's Court for the most part in ruins, and its farm in a state of utter neglect. He rebuilt the house and planted numerous trees, which now add so greatly to the beauty of the grounds, while he improved the farm so successfully that it soon greatly increased in value.

Among other important questions which arose at this period was that of Church dues. Bishop Wilson, a strict upholder of the Church in all things, consistently insisted on the payment of her dues. Though corbes had not been regularly paid for some time past, he decided, at a Convocation held at Kirk Michael in 1712, that "Corse presents" were "due by the law . . . without controversie," the persons committed for not paying them having pleaded that they thought they were obsolete. It was ordered, at the same time, that the widows of the clergy should pay to their husbands' successors "ten shillings by way of corbes to be laid out for their use in books at the discretion of the Ordinary."¹

At the same Convocation, it having been noticed that for five or six years past much of the land had been planted with potatoes, and so withdrawn (as was supposed) from being tithable,² an order was made that all persons should "give a just account and proportion of their potatoes

¹ Repealed by "Glebe Houses" Act of 1734, which did away with corbes payable to the clergy from their predecessors (*Statutes*, p. 209).

² Only what was *cut* from the ground being, according to an old customary law, tithable.

unto the rector, vicar, or proctor of their respective parishes, as of any other tithe growing or produced off or from the earth : the tithe-owners and agents to take care that no predjudice do accrue to the Church by their neglect in this matter." This decree was received quietly enough at the time, but more than a century later, as we shall see, it was a cause of considerable commotion. At this time, too, there arose a tithe question between the abbey tenants and the clergy. It would seem that no composition had been made in the Act of Settlement for the tithes of the abbey demesnes made over by Earl Charles, but that they were left to be paid in kind, which arrangement, the abbey tenants complained, put them in a

Complaint of
the abbey
tenants. worse position than the other tenants,
and so some of them proposed "that
the Clergy should take one-half the

Lord's rent instead of full tithes." This was agreed to by the clergy, but only a portion of the tenants would pay in this way, while some continued to pay in kind, and the rest refused to pay at all. A good deal of trouble was thus caused for some time, but the malcontents gradually admitted the clergy's claim. There were also troubles with those who claimed to be free from tithe by prescription.¹ Another question, which had given trouble before this period, and was not to be settled for some time after it, was

Fish tithe. that of the tithe of fish. The fish when
landed were divided into five portions,
and then the proctor chose the clergy's share, which

¹ A notable case of a surrender of a tithe held by prescription in 1715 is recorded in the *Manx Church Magazine*, p. cxix.

was one-fifth. There were constant grumblings at this exaction, and numerous pleas for exemption on the score of prescription, but the clergy, nevertheless, continued to get the tithe, though it led to much ill-will between them and the fishermen. But in spite of these difficulties, the attitude of the people towards the Church, according to Bishop Wilson, was, on the whole, a very favourable one.¹

Let us now briefly inquire into the character and condition of the clergy at this period.

Something will have been learned about them from what has been already stated, Character and condition of clergy.

and to this the testimony of Waldron, which applies to the period before 1730, and of Bishop Hildesley, who was probably better acquainted with the latter period, may be added. Waldron, whose account is, however, clearly much too unfavourable, considered them, to be on the whole, very ignorant; he remarked that "they look and move and speak as if they knew themselves to be of a different species from their hearers," and he finally disposed of them by the comprehensive statement that they were "evil ministers;"² while, though the clergy of Bishop Wilson's latter days were certainly inferior to those of his earlier, Bishop Hildesley spoke of them as "in general a very sensible, regular, decent set of men almost without exception."³ Our own impression, derived from private letters of the time and from memoranda in the Records, is, that they were neither evil⁴ nor, except in some cases

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xi., p. 21.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 419.

⁴ With one or two notorious exceptions.

after 1736, ignorant. The two leading men amongst them, William Walker¹ (born 1679, died 1729) and Phillip Moore² (born 1705, died 1783), were able and well-educated men. The former was Bishop Wilson's chief companion and friend during the first part of his episcopate, and the latter held the same position during the last part of it.

As to the income of the clergy, the bishop wrote: "The livings are generally small. The two parsonages are indeed worth near sixty pounds a year, but the vicarages, the Royal Bounty included, are not worth above twenty-five pounds; with which, notwithstanding, the frugal clergy have maintained themselves, and sometimes pretty numerous families, very decently."³

The bishop's own income was less than £300 a year at his accession, but it improved so rapidly under his good management that thirty years later its amount was £400. It arose "from a demesne, some lands in lease, and appropriations, with the advowsons of Kirk German, Kirk Braddan, Kirk Jurby, two-thirds of Kirk Patrick, and one-third of some of the other parishes."⁴

Various doctrinal questions arose during this period,⁵ but a very brief survey will suffice for them. In 1718, a complaint was made to the bishop that two of his clergy, William Ross

¹ For brief biography see *Manx Note-Book*, vol. i., pp. 90—97.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 136—141, and vol. ii., pp. 31-6.

³ Wilson, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 111.

⁴ Browne Willis, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 130.

⁵ See also Horrobin's case, p. 196.

and Alexander Macon, masters of the Academy at Castletown, had "advanced some opinions which savour of Popery." He therefore required them to meet him and the rest of the clergy "at the Cathedral . . . to know what you have to say to this charge." They consequently prepared a written defence, after consideration of which, the bishop and clergy pronounced "that there is no reason, to us appearing or known, to charge them with Popery, or even of being Popishly affected." On this Keble comments that, "considering the defendants' position, one cannot doubt that in the main their teaching harmonized with Bishop Wilson's, and ^{The bishop's views.} that he must be counted (so far) among the most exclusive of 'High Churchmen' of the day."¹

This view receives some confirmation from Waldron's complaint of the toleration of "Papists" by the bishop and clergy, and from his statement that the chief subject of their sermons was "the power of the Priesthood and the discipline of the Church."² This power, he remarked, "is indeed their corner-stone, the foundation on which the stupendous structure is erected to such gigantic and formidable height, most certainly framed after the model set before them by their grand masters the Romish clergy."³

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to mention that the bishop held the strongest views ^{On free-} against anything that savoured of free-thinking. As instances of this we may quote his denunciation of a book of this tendency, called

¹ Keble, p. 387.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 22.

³ But this account is probably an exaggerated one.

The Independent Whig, which had been introduced into his diocese, as "most pestilent"; his speaking of the "spirit of profaneness, libertinism, and heresy" that was abroad, and his warning his clergy that there never was more need than now of taking "heed to ourselves and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made us overseers."

We may note that Bishop Wilson provided special prayers from time to time, as the occasion arose. One of these occasions was during the wet harvest of 1708, which, in the bishop's words, "may too likely be attended with sickness and scarcity of bread unless God in mercy hinder it." He therefore issued a suitable form of prayer to be used, "until it shall please God to send us more seasonable weather." Not only did he thus provide prayers for special occasions, but for special needs. The most interesting of these is the "Form of Prayer to be used by those clergy who attend the Boats in the Herring-Fishery"; and he also ordered the following petition to be inserted "in the publick services of the Church,"¹ viz. "That it may please Thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, and to restore and continue to us the Blessings of the Seas, so as in due time we may enjoy them." The expression "restore and continue" refers to the comparative failure of the annual shoal of herrings, which had been a trouble to the island for many seasons. The old custom of the clergy attending the boats of the herring-fleet every evening before they put out to sea, to pray with the fishermen and so to let them start

¹ *I. e.* in the Litany.

with a blessing, was, at the same time, ordered to be continued. He also drew up forms for consecrating churches, chapels, and churchyards,¹ for receiving penitents and excommunicated persons back into the Church, and for a service to be read when perambulating parish boundaries; and he composed a prayer for persons performing penance.

Having thus completed our survey of the period which bears Bishop Wilson's name, let us now briefly touch upon the character of this good Character of
man himself, as shown in his life and Bishop Wilson. works. To do this adequately is beyond our powers, so we will confine ourselves to giving the testimony of others, so that from them, and from the account of his episcopate in the preceding pages, our readers may be able to form their own estimate. His contemporary, Waldron, could not withhold from "the amiable qualities which adorn the character" of the bishop their due meed of praise, stating that he was "in his own nature what our blessed Saviour recommends, mild, humble, tender, compassionate and forgiving;" and concluding that "the abundant charities he bestows, and which are too well known not to have reached wherever this treatise will arrive, are better testimonials of him than the words of any author."²

His charities were indeed extraordinary. As early as 1693, he dedicated one-fifth of his income "for pious uses and particularly for y^e poor."³ After he

¹ Cruttwell, vol. i., pp. cxliii—cxlvi.

² *Manx Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 26.

³ Keble, p. 63.

came to Man, he rapidly increased this proportion till at length he gave away more than half his income. Our next evidence about him is from the Rev. Philip Moore, who knew him intimately, and wrote : " He was an honour to humanity, and added dignity to the nature of man. He gave the world a living example of the divine power and efficacy of Christianity, of which his whole life was a most lively transcript. He was a person whose integrity was inflexible, his holiness pure, and his piety fervent ; of admirable probity and simplicity of manners ; of a most engaging behaviour, affability, and sweetness of temper. His piety, beneficence, and charity will be remembered and recorded by the people of this Isle, with gratitude and affection, to the remotest generations. In his private conversation he was agreeable and entertaining, lively and facetious without levity ; and always consistent with the dignity of his character ; never at a loss for something pertinent and proper to illustrate his discourse ; on these occasions nothing ever proceeded from his mouth but what was good, to the use of edifying, and ministered not only grace, but also pleasure and delight to the hearers." ¹

Then, in order of date, comes the evidence of Butler, Bishop Hildesley's biographer, who said : " He was eminently distinguished for the great sanctity and rectitude of his life, no less than for his benevolence, hospitality, and unremitting attention to the wants and happiness of the people entrusted to his guardian care. He encouraged agriculture . . . established schools . . . and founded parochial libraries. . . .

¹ Cruttwell, pp. xviv-v.

His virtues were, in short, so numerous, so amply displayed, that he approved himself in every sense an inestimable blessing to the Isle of Mann, and an ornament to human nature. Venerable in his aspect, meek in all his deportment, his face illumined with true Christian mildness, and his heart glowing with godlike philanthropy, he went about, like his Divine Master, doing good."¹

As to his literary work, we have the following evidence from competent observers: "His sermons are the affectionate addresses of a parent to his children; descending to the minutest particulars, and adapted to all their wants."² "His writings," says Dr. Beattie, "are an inexhaustible as well as an inestimable treasure of virtue and piety. When I think of what he has done, as well as what he has written, I am struck with astonishment and rapture; for I cannot help considering him one of the greatest and best characters that has done honour to human nature since the apostolick age."³ "To think on Bishop Wilson with veneration is only," says Dr. Johnson, "to agree with the whole Christian world. I hope to look into his books with other purposes than those of criticism; and, after their perusal, not only to write, but to live better."⁴

That he is still appreciated in the present century, the following will show: "Bishop Thomas Wilson is a great name in modern religious history. Even fifty years ago his books were favourite devotional reading with religious people; but he belongs to

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 314 (Bishop Horne).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

the days of grave piety and subdued enthusiasm, and distrust of all that is showy, or venturesome, or romantic in religion. There is nothing in him but what is plain, direct, homely, for the most part prosaic; all is sober, unstrained, rational, severely chastened in style and language . . . As he wrote so he lived, simply, resolutely, with single and dauntless heart; 'a burning and shining light'—'burning, indeed, and shining,' as has been said, 'like the Baptist in an evil time, he seemed as if a beacon lighted on his small island, to show what his Lord and Saviour could do in spite of man, how He could at will make for Himself a dwelling-place upon the waves and a garden in the barren sea.'¹''²

Bishop Wilson died on March 7, 1755, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his consecration, and was buried at Kirk Michael.

¹ Preface to *Sacra Privata*, Oxford, 1838, signed I. H. N.

² Dean Church, *The Discipline of the Christian Character*, pp. 132-5. London: Macmillan and Co.

CHAPTER VIII.

BISHOP HILDESLEY AND THE MANX BIBLE
(1755—1772).

THE diocese was to be again fortunate in its new bishop, Mark Hildesley, who was educated at the Charterhouse, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1720 and M.A. in 1724, having become a fellow in 1723. In the same year, he became domestic chaplain to Lord Cobham, and ten years later we find him holding this office in the household of Lord Bolinbroke. In 1731, he was presented to the college vicarage of Hitchin, and, in 1735, he also received the neighbouring rectory of Holwell. He proved a most capable and industrious parish priest, being especially interested in educational work. On the 24th of April, 1755, he was consecrated bishop, in Whitehall chapel, by Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of York, and, on the 6th of August following, he was installed in St. German's cathedral. His first care was to require the clergy to produce their "Letters of Orders, Institution and Induction, and all other Licences or Faculties whatsoever." He then ordained that they should wear

Early career of
Bishop
Hildesley.

His consecra-
tion.

“a dress to distinguish them from the laity,” and that they should not appear outside their own house or lands “in brown or light-coloured cloaths, but only in black or dark-gray and wearing a wig.”¹ It was fortunate for the clergy that these sumptuary laws

Increase of
clergy's in-
comes. were accompanied with some increase in their incomes, the two rectories being worth £100, and the vicarages from £30 to £50.² “Upon such humble incomes,” says

a contemporary writer, “the frugality of the insular clergy, much to their honour, has enabled them to live very decently, to maintain themselves, and sometimes to bring up comfortably pretty numerous families.³ Their conduct seems to have been, generally speaking, irreproachable.⁴

Another point to which the bishop paid great attention was the maintenance of the fabrics of the churches, which seem to have been neglected during the latter days of Bishop Wilson; for we find many entries in the Records relating to their lamentable state of disrepair, as well as to their too small size for the rapidly increasing population of the island.⁵

Thus, in 1762 “Trinity Rushen” was in a very

¹ Even the students of sixteen and seventeen years old were obliged to wear wigs.

² This increase largely arose from the bishop appointing the clergy as his proctors, in their several parishes, to collect his tithes and dues, they getting a percentage for themselves.

³ MS. letter.

⁴ Only two presentments are recorded against them, one being of a rector and curate for non-residence, and the other of a curate for drunkenness.

⁵ It had increased by one-third since 1726.

ruinous condition. It was consequently ordered that a new church was to be built to the north of the old building. The rain had "been pouring down into Ballaugh Church," which was repaired. A similar condition of affairs obtained at Andreas, which was likewise repaired, and the rectory,¹ which was in ruins, rebuilt. In 1757, Arbory church was rebuilt. In consequence of constant complaints about the want of accommodation, it being stated that some of the churches were unable to contain half the people who would come, and others only two-thirds, galleries were added to the churches of Bride, Malew, Braddan, and Conchan; the latter church was also enlarged, and Malew church received a new steeple. "By some benefactions," writes Bishop Hildesley to Archbishop Drummond in 1726, "from the living and the dead, the people have been enabled to rebuild and enlarge three of their parish churches. And there we stop, and must stop, till Providence shall be pleased to raise up more friends to assist us in so desirable and so charitable a work as this, of erecting places moderately convenient for the reception of a well-disposed people to attend the offices of religious worship, in a country where there is no law for briefs, for the purpose of rebuilding churches, as in England; and where, if there were any such method appointed, the circumstances of the inhabitants, especially in the country parishes, are far too low to raise a sum

Rebuilding and
repair of
churches.

And galleries
added.

Reasons why
this work
could not be
sufficiently
done.

¹ It appears that John Kippax, archdeacon from 1727 to 1760, had never resided there.

of any significance towards it. This is one of the grievances which the diocese of Mann at present labours under.”¹ One result of this state of affairs was that the bishop expended considerable sums for the enlargement or rebuilding the Manx churches out of his own pocket. To give one instance of this,

St. Mark's. the chapel of St. Mark's was built almost entirely at his expense, and he contributed more than half the sum then collected for the endowment of a chaplain for it. Its consecration, on the 23rd of June, 1772, was almost his last public act.

But it was not only the fabrics of the churches that were in a state of disrepair, as the condition of their contents also left much to be desired. Thus, at Lezayre, and this is not a solitary instance, “the Font wants a new cover . . . a new Communion Table is necessary, the present table being worm-eaten and loose in the mortises . . . the corporal and two napkins for the Communion Service are very old and scarcely fit for use, the Church Bible is loose in the binding and much decayed . . . there is no homily book and no herse cloth for the more decent inter^{mt} of the Dead . . . the floor of the altar is uneven and rugged . . . its rails are loose and tottering; and the steps thereto in very bad order . . . there is no dish for the service of the Communion, nor an offertory Bason, and the Flagon is loose.” To pay for making all this good, the parish was cessed at fifty shillings per quarter-land. The wardens had previously reported that the Bible and Prayer-book for service were “so

Contents of
churches
also in a bad
state.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 241.

scandalously torn, defective, and out of repair that our R^t Rev^d Ordinary who lately officiated in that Church was unable to proceed with the service."

There were sedulous efforts to maintain the discipline of the Church during this period, though the penalties for its infringement gradually became lighter. Indeed such entries as "Dismissed as frivolous and admonished" are often found. There are signs, too, that the whole system was falling into contempt. Thus, a man who was performing penance for behaving irreverently in church, took "the sheet off himself in the church isle (*sic*)," and threw it "in a scoffing manner on the sumner's shoulders."¹ As a means of tightening the loosened bonds of the discipline, the bishop ordered "that no person who is either under Church censure, or who has not received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, be admitted to enter into the holy state of matrimony (unless the Ordinary for sufficient reasons shall think proper to dispense with the same for a limited time);" and to show that they have received it, "it is required that certificates be given by the several clergy of the diocese as they shall respectively be concerned."² No person could be married without one of these certificates, but, if the clergyman of the parish could not grant it on personal knowledge,

The discipline

was falling into contempt.

Regulations about marriages.

¹ For this he was condemned to forfeit bonds of £3, and to perform the penance in "a becoming manner."

² This was, in effect, the third ecclesiastical constitution of 1703, which was at this time ordered to be read in the churches (see pp. 209-10).

"a moral certainty (*sic*) from any two credible persons may suffice."

In 1757, Bishop Hildesley had succeeded in getting an Act to prevent clandestine marriages passed through the Legislature.¹ It would seem that he found on his arrival that such marriages had been very common, and, in consequence of a strongly-worded reproof from him, the clergy assured him that they would use "all means in their power to bring to condign punishment those who contracted such marriages." Presentments for non-observance of Sundays and Saints' days were common, and there was a vigorous effort made to check the neglect of attendance at church on Ash-Wednesday² and Good-Friday, which seems to have especially shocked the bishop.³ For we find him telling his clergy that he was "aggrieved as well as surprized" to see men "following their ordinary occupations on these days in yoking

Non-observance
of Ash-Wed-
nesday and
Good-Friday.

¹ *Statutes*, pp. 381-5.

² It is an old custom to use proper lessons on Ash-Wednesday, and at the meetings of the Tinwald Court, when assembled to promulgate new laws. There were no proper lessons for Ash-Wednesday, in England, before 1871.

³ A few of the presentments made during this period may be of interest: "For neglecting to attend divine service." "The wardens present to the Court that there was no divine service in the parish church on St. Matthew and St. Luke's days last." "For not having an oiel verrey (Christmas Eve) service." "For not attending to be examined in the principles of the Christian religion." "For not qualifying for confirmation." "For not raising and singing psalms in the church at the time of Divine Service, upon the Lord's Days, as has been always used and accustomed in our Parish Church in times past; and we do likewise present the Revd. John Gill, Vicar of our Parish, for restraining and forbidding our s^d parish clerk to raise and sing psalms in the church."

their cattle and tilling their land . . . during the whole time of Divine service." To this the clergy replied (1) that it was the general custom of the people to work on those days; (2) that they had the "late Bishop's and Vicar-general Walker's example for it" (!); and (3) that prayers were read as early as 8 a.m. on those days, so that people went to work afterwards.

We now come to the great work of Bishop Hildesley's episcopate, viz. the publication of the Bible in Manx. As a preliminary to this great work, he encouraged the publication of devotional works, of the New Testament, and of the Prayer-book. Thus, at Convocation, in 1758, we find him "declaring a great desire of having the Church catechism printed in the Manks tongue by itself," and earnestly recommending the clergy that they are "to use their best endeavours to improve the use and practice of the Manks tongue." He also expressed his desire of having "the ordinary service of the Church, together with the several occasional offices, translated into Manks," and "a select number of the singing psalms translated into Manks verse, fitted to the tunes used in churches, for the instruction and comfort of such persons as do not understand the English language."¹ He soon

The Bible.

Other devo-
tional publi-
cations.

¹ So anxious was he that the people should have the psalms in Manx that copies were sent round to the country clergy that they might transcribe them for the use of their congregations. He ordered at the same time that "No more than one psalm, or portion of a psalm, in English, be sung in any of the country churches, on each Lord's day or holy day, which I think full sufficient for ye use and gratification of ye minority who are supposed

Manx to be
chiefly used
in Church
services.

found willing translators of the above, but, when they were ready for publication, he was confronted with the difficulty of providing the necessary funds.

To obtain these funds for publication, he approached the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who, in July 1762, handed him £100 "for the purpose of printing the Scriptures and other good books in the Manks tongue." He also obtained money for the same purpose from various charitable persons in England. In August of the same year, he received a letter from the Archbishop of York urging him to procure "a plain translation of the liturgy,"¹ and condemning the practice of translating "the Scriptures and the Liturgy off-hand out of English into the anguage of the Island."¹ He also suggested that "such parts of the Scriptures as are the most necessary should be carefully translated by some able clergyman."¹ In the following year the S.P.C.K. issued a "Proposal for printing the Holy Bible, Common Prayer, and other religious Books, in the Manks language," and, in consequence of this, the bishop was shortly able to announce the publication of the Gospels and Acts to his clergy,² "with great pleasure," and

to understand it;" and he gave notice that "Whereas I find some doubts have arisen among some of the clergy concerning the sense in which they are to observe my late injunction, 'To instruct the people in a language they best understand,' I here think fit more explicitly to declare my meaning to be that Manks should be preached as a rule."

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 425-6.

² A few copies were issued to the clergy only, with a request "that they would insert freely their remarks on the blank pages,

to inform them that he had "likewise the satisfaction to acquaint" them, "that our friends in England are still successfully exerting their endeavours for increasing the fund of contributions toward the expence of printing a larger and more correct edition of the holy Oracles, and our excellent Liturgy and Liturgy." He then urged them "to take into consideration some method of proceeding with the Liturgy already begun, and which our benefactors are so frequently inquiring after," and to "prosecute that most necessary work of translating the remainder of the New Testament into the Vulgar Tongue."

In this year, 1763, were also published *The Christian Monitor*, and *Lewis's Exposition of the Catechism*, with Bishop Wilson's *Form of Prayer for the Herring Fishery*. These books were evidently greatly appreciated, as the bishop wrote to the Rev. Philip Moore: "The blessings of many are now upon me, for what I have already procured, and they seem almost ready to eat the Manks Monitors which are now come among us."¹ This must have been a great encouragement to him, but, on the other hand, there was much opposition; for shortly afterwards he wrote to the same correspondent—"If I were not fraught with full conviction of its² utility, and with resolution to pursue my undertaking, what with the coolness of its reception

Liturgy and
New Testa-
ment to be
proceeded
with.

Publication of
devotional
books.

Their reception.

as to the best method that can be proposed for furnishing from the whole one correct edition."

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 444-5.

² Printing the Bible in Manx.

by some, and the actual disapprobation of it by others, I should be so discouraged as to give it up. This, I believe, is the only country in the world that is ashamed of, and even inclined to extirpate, if it could, its own native tongue.”¹ Some of those, too, in England, who were applied to for subscriptions to the printing of the Manx Bible, said, “They are nothing but a nest of smugglers, and can have no religion.”²

Yet the good work went on. In 1765, there appeared an edition of the Prayer-book,³ in *quarto*, for the use of the clergy, also a larger edition of the Gospels and Acts. In 1767, there followed the Epistles and Revelations; and, in 1768, an edition of the Prayer-book, in *octavo*, for the use of the people; also second editions of the *Christian Monitor* and *Lewis's Catechism*. It was in 1765 that the bishop, encouraged by the number of subscriptions he had received from England, determined to expedite the translation of the Old Testament, which had been already begun, and so he addressed his clergy as follows: “I earnestly pray God . . . to inspire every Minister of His word in this Diocese, with a feeling sense of the importance and necessity of the undertaking proposed, of furnishing the Church of Mann (the only Church in the Christian world destitute of them) with

Quarto edition
of the Prayer-
book pub-
lished.

Also octavo
edition of
the same.

Prayer-book
much appre-
ciated.

Bishop urges
on publica-
tion of
Bible.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 450.

² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

³ It is remarkable that, in preparing this translation, no use seems to have been made of Bishop Phillips's translation made in 1610. See pp. 135-7.

the divine oracles in the Vulgar Tongue." Three years later there occurred an accident which threatened greatly to retard this publication of the Old Testament. It is thus related by John Kelly: "I began to revise, correct, and transcribe the Gaelic translation of the Bible on the 1st of June, 1768. The Pentateuch was soon after nearly ready for the press; and we arrived at Whitehaven, where the work was printed, on the 13th of April, 1770.

On our next return from the island to Whitehaven, the 19th of March, 1771, charged with another portion, from Deuteronomy to Job inclusive, we were shipwrecked in a storm. With no small difficulty and danger the manuscript was preserved, by holding it above the water for the space of five hours; and this was almost the only article saved."¹ The printing of the first volume of the Bible to the end of Job was completed in 1771;² the second, to the end of the Old Testament, with a portion of the Apocrypha, in 1773; and the third volume, the New Testament, in 1775. The translators of the Bible, Prayer-book, etc., were, in effect, the whole of the clergy of the island, though the most arduous share of the work had fallen to the Rev. Phillip Moore, who revised nearly the whole of the Bible,³ and to John Kelly, afterwards Dr. Kelly, who assisted him and also corrected the whole Bible

A portion of
the Old
Testament
nearly lost.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 231.

² The statement of Bishop Hildesley's biographer, that the bishop received the last volume before his death, is incorrect (*Memoirs*, p. 51).

³ The Rev. Matthias Curghey assisted in the revision of the Pentateuch.

for the press.¹ *Lewis's Catechism* was translated by the Rev. Henry Corlett, and the *Christian Monitor* by the Rev. Paul Crebbin.

Though, as we have seen, the publication of the Bible and Prayer-book and other religious books continued after Bishop Hildesley's death, their production was retarded, instead of forwarded, by his successors. Indeed, but for the support of the S.P.C.K., and the earnest zeal of a few of the Manx clergy, it seems probable that no further Manx books would have been published.²

Education. Education also received a large share of the bishop's attention. Thus he clothed and educated twenty poor children at Bishop's Court, who formed his chapel choir, entirely at his own expense. "For these he built a school-house, with a handsome stipend for a master and mistress;" and we constantly find him exhorting the clergy to visit the schools.³ He also took a keen interest in the grammar schools, and more particularly in the

¹ The Manx translation of the Bible is considered a very good one. Thus Vallancy in his *Grammar*, p. 119, writes, "The beautiful expression of the Manx, superior to the Irish translation, is visible to every Celtick scholar."

² For full particulars about benefactions towards the publication of the Scriptures in Manx, see Hildesley's *Memoirs*, pp. 257-60, or *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 51-56.

³ If satisfied they were to issue the following certificate: "I do hereby certify that, according to the Constitutions of 1703, I have visited the petty school of this parish, A. B. licensed ^{master} _{mistress}. That the children under ^{his} _{her} care have been carefully taught, and do improve in learning and good manners; that they are taught their prayers and catechism, and do duly attend the public service of the Church. Witness my hand this — day of — C. B., ^{Rector} _{Vicar} of —."

academic school, the boys of which "he personally examined . . . in the Classicks, the Greek Testament, and the Thirty-nine Articles."¹

It was at this time, too, that Peel obtained a mathematical school through private benefactions, and that other educational and charitable funds were added to by the bequest of Mrs. Catherine Halsall.²

In 1769, the long-pending question of fish tithe was finally decided by the Privy Council in favour of the clergy, by affirming the judgment of the Manx Spiritual Court in 1767, which decided that fishermen were liable to pay full tithes for fish even though "sold at sea many leagues from the island." But though the legal question was thus settled, the fishermen seem still to have made difficulties about the payment of the tithe, as there was a resolution passed at Convocation in 1772, "that the rights of the Church be vigorously defended with respect to the tithe of herrings and other fish;" and, in the following year, the clergy complained, in an address to the bishop, that they (the fishermen) still continued "obstinate," and had involved them "in fresh suits." They then proceeded to beg him to give them "his assistance" in "craving the countenance of his Grace of Atholl, in protecting and recovering the rights of the Church from the injurious attacks of those infatuated and misguided men."³

Fish tithe
question
legally
settled, but
payment still
disputed by
fishermen.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 81.

² *Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 42-3, 61 and 69, which see for other bequests.

³ Fish tithe continued to be paid up till the end of the century, when all mention of it in the Records suddenly ceases, and in the

Having thus given a brief account of the diocese during this period, we will now refer more especially to the bishop himself. We have seen how zealously he entered into every department of his work, and it is significant of this that he took the trouble to acquire something of the Manx language so that he might make himself understood by the people.¹ As regards personal appearance, he "was somewhat but not much above the middle stature; with features rather small and very regular, of a fair complexion, and, as he himself often tells us, in constitution 'tender and weakly.' His voice, though not deeply sonorous, was in an eminent degree clear and distinct . . . his countenance attractive, lively, and benign."² This good man died on the 7th of December, 1772, and was buried at Kirk Michael, near Bishop Wilson. Twenty-five years after his death, Bishop Crigan wrote of him, that "as no pastor was more loved in his diocese, by both the clergy and laity, during his life, so no one could be more sincerely regretted at his death. His memory is yet fresh in the hearts of the people."³ His only literary production, apart from his sermons and charges, is a small tract entitled "Plain instructions for young persons in the principles of the Christian religion; in six conferences between a minister and his

Act of 1839 (see pp. 261-2) it is not dealt with in any way, though all tithes are mentioned.

¹ He had conducted his diocese successfully through a very difficult time, as, till 1765, the people were demoralized by the smuggling trade, and after its suppression there was a period of discontent and restlessness before they settled down.

² *Memoirs*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. III.

disciple : designed for the use of the Isle and Diocese of Man." The most distinguished of the clergy during this period, with, perhaps, the exception of the Rev. Phillip Moore,¹ was the Rev. James Wilks, vicar-general, a man of sterling and upright character, with some literary power.²

¹ See p. 224.

² For brief biography of him see *Manx Note-Book*, vol. xii., pp. 178—181.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RISE OF METHODISM (1772—1827).

THE most important event during this period is the rise of Wesleyan Methodism in Man. The first direct effort to implant it was in 1758, John Murlin. when John Murlin, the weeping prophet, stayed about a week in Ramsey. He preached to the people, who "gave great attention,"¹ but, as he decided that there was "little probability of doing any considerable good while the whole island was a nest of smugglers,"² no preacher was sent to the island for some time afterwards.

The next arrival was John Crook, who was sent by a number of zealous Methodists in John Crook. Liverpool early in 1775. He met with some opposition, but also with a good deal of sympathy, even among the clergy. He left the island in the autumn of the same year, when it was placed under the care of the preachers at Whitehaven, and

¹ Rosser, *Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man*, p. 47, quoted from Murlin's own account.

² *Ibid.*

considered as forming part of that circuit. In the following year, however, he returned and carried on his work with some success, though there was considerable opposition, especially in Douglas, where he was attacked by a riotous mob set on by the minister of St. Matthew's. For protection, he applied to the governor, who took his part, and told the minister "that he would suffer no one to be persecuted for his religion."¹ After this, "though the storm was now fallen, the waves . . . continued turbulent,"² and there were yet troublous times in store for the Manx Methodists. For, in July 1776, Bishop Richmond issued the following intolerant and violent pastoral letter to his clergy: "Whereas we have been informed that several un-ordained, unauthorized, and unqualified persons from other countries have for some time past presumed to preach and teach publicly, hold and maintain Conventicles, and have caused several weak persons to combine themselves together in a new Society, and have private meetings, assemblies, and Congregations contrary to the divine government, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Established Church, and the civil and eccl. laws of this Isle—We do therefore, for the prevention of schism and the re-establishment of the uniformity in religious worship which so long hath subsisted among us, hereby desire and require each and every of you to be vigilant and use your utmost endeavours to dissuade your respective flocks from

Bishop
Richmond's
letter against
the Wes-
leyans.

¹ Moore's *Life of Wesley*, quoted by Rosser, p. 84, who is our chief authority for the progress of Wesleyanism in Man.

² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

following or being led and misguided by such incompetent teachers." He then spoke of "the crude, pragmatic, and inconsistent, if not profane and blasphemous, extempore effusions of these Pretenders to the true Religion;" he asked that the names of those attending meetings, who held "any place, office, or employment from us or our predecessors," should be sent to him; and he ordered the clergy, if any of the preachers should "at any time hereafter offer to be a partaker of the holy Communion in any of your respective churches or chapels, that you expel him or them so offering."

Fortunately but few of the clergy cared to carry out such instructions in their entirety, though, according to Thomas Rutherford, one of the preachers, not one of them "dared to give us the sacrament." And he continued: "I have no doubt but that they would have driven us out of the island but for the Governor, who acted a most friendly part."¹ However, in spite of this opposition, they had already five hundred members, and "many of the poor people, both in the towns and throughout the country, received the truth, and much good was done."² In the following year, Wesley himself paid the island a visit, and "was received in a very friendly manner by a few persons of respectability and influence."³ The people generally also received him well, and he was favourably impressed by them, writing, "A more loving, simple-hearted people than

¹ Rosser, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Wesley's Journal*, quoted by Rosser, p. 93.

this I never saw—and no wonder ; for they have but six papists and no dissenters¹ on the island.”²

At the Wesleyan Conference of 1778, the Isle of Man was entered as a separate circuit, and the preachers appointed to it were John Crook and Robert Dall. During the three years the former worked in the island, the membership of the society largely increased, being fifteen hundred and ninety-seven in 1781. In May of that year, Wesley again came to the island, and was very favourably received. The bishop, George Mason, was an easy-going man, and did not interfere with the new preachers, whose work prospered. Wesley's impression of the people continued to be favourable, and he remarked in his diary — “Hardly in England (except perhaps at Bolton) have I found so plain, so earnest, so simple a people ;”³ and again he speaks of “an artless, loving congregation.”³ He was also much pleased with their singing, saying—“I have not heard better singing either at Bristol or London ; many, both men and women, have admirable voices, and they sing with good judgment.”⁴

Of the preachers, who were now twenty-two in

¹ We may note that the Wesleyans in Man did not really separate themselves from the Church till about 1836, some forty years later than in England (see p. 251), and that the first actual organized body of dissenters, except a few Quakers, did not come into existence till 1808, when the Independents or Congregationalists built a chapel. By 1814, the Roman Catholics were numerous enough to have a chapel, and, in 1819, both Primitive Methodists and Presbyterians were in the same position.

² *Wesley's Journal*, quoted by Rosser, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

number, Wesley said—"I never saw in England so many stout, well-looking preachers together. If their spirit be answerable to their look, I know not what can stand before them."¹ And, after having visited the whole of the island, he declared that he "was thoroughly convinced that we have no such circuit as this either in England, Scotland, or Ireland."²

The Wesleyans continued to increase and prosper. In 1805, the island was constituted a separate district; and, in 1825, it was stated that the Methodists of that time, "unlike their predecessors, have little opposition to expect from those who are without." Indeed, after Bishop Richmond's time, the Church and the Methodists worked, on the whole, amicably together, and we have ample proof that this state of things continued much longer than in England. Thus, one of the Wesleyans wrote in 1822, "It was judged good policy to allow the Methodists in this Island to remain under the protecting wing of the Establishment until their minds were better prepared for a separation, and now they seem disposed to imitate their brethren in the mother country."³

We learn, however, that, in 1829, they had not yet "seceded from the established Church,"⁴ but that they "adhere . . . to its services."⁴ Also that "in the country parishes, the Methodists attend generally more regularly than others on the public worship of

¹ *Wesley's Journal*, quoted by Rosser, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*

³ Haining, *Guide to the Isle of Man*, p. 72.

⁴ Lord Teignmouth, vol. ii., pp. 254-5.

the Church,"¹ though "in the towns the line of demarcation is more strongly marked";¹ but, in 1836, the same writer remarked that they "now open their chapels during Divine service, a practice which many of them consider a great evil."²

As regards the Manx Church, the greater part of this period is a melancholy one; for the evil which tainted it during the latter part of Wilson's episcopate, and throughout that of Hildesley, viz. the gradual deterioration of the clergy, was now to develop its full consequences; and it did so unchecked, as the bishops between 1772 and 1813—Richard Richmond (1773-80), a haughty and overbearing man, much disliked by his clergy,³ George Mason (1780-3), and Claudius Crigan (1783-1813), whose part in the work of the Church was mainly a negative one—were not men fitted to grapple with it.

That this deterioration of the clergy was a fact is clear from the Records, which contain several convictions against them for drunkenness, and show that no less than seven of them were degraded from their office at one time.⁴ The evidence of contemporary and other writers, however, shows them in a more favourable aspect on the whole. Thus, Feltham, writing in 1798, remarked that "the clergy of the island are a respectable body; they

¹ Lord Teignmouth, vol. ii., pp. 254-5, and p. 259.

² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

³ In their letters he is usually spoken of as "the Lama" and "the Pontifex Max."

⁴ The negligent way in which the church registers were kept at this period is very marked.

are natives, and have a good classical education.”¹ In 1816, we are told that among the clergy “there are few, if any, striking instances of dereliction from their duties, and that, generally speaking, the established habits of the whole body are consonant to the best rules of orthodoxy.”² But it would seem that when Bishop Murray came³ “things had fallen into a very scandalous state;”⁴ and that he “found great irregularities practised in some of the churches, and a general carelessness pervading by far too large a proportion of the clergy.”⁵ He consequently “purified the ministry of several Priests, whose lives had been a scandal to their holy order.”⁶

Bishop Murray's action with respect to this.

Influences affecting the people's religious condition.

Of the religious condition of the people, we hear practically nothing, but it is clear that it would not be improved by contact with the class of immigrants into the towns from England and elsewhere, many of whom were of the most dissolute and irreligious character,⁷ by the difficulties in enforcing the discipline, and by the ill-will engendered by the question of the tithe. But, on the other hand, the possession of the Bible in their native tongue, the religious enthusiasm produced by the mission of Wesley and his followers, and the sup-

¹ *Manx Soc.*, vol. vi., p. 89.

² Bullock, p. 333.

³ He was presented May 22, 1813, consecrated March 8, 1814, at Whitehall Chapel, and was installed on April 7, in St. George's, Douglas.

⁴ Short, *Hist. of the Church of England*, Introduction, p. lxiv.

⁵ Ward, p. 60.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Most of this class, however, were got rid of after 1814, by the passage of the Act making foreign debts recoverable in Man.

pression of smuggling, with the consequent decrease of drunkenness, tended to counteract these evil influences, and to preserve some spiritual life among them.

Let us now briefly examine these influences. The immigrants need not be further discussed, so we come to the discipline. It had become very difficult even to get any disciplinary cases

The discipline.

before the Spiritual Court, especially such as related to non-attendance at church and to immorality. Of this a singular proof was afforded in 1785, when a number of churchwardens complained to the Ecclesiastical Court that they considered it a grievance

It fails.

to be "obliged to present on Common

Fame, as also such persons as do not attend divine worship on holy days." In consequence of this, the court appointed a committee to "represent this to the Legislature, as soon as other matters of a similar nature are ready to be laid before them, for their consideration and amendment." The same point arose in 1796, when the bishop took "the sense of the clergy whether it might not be advisable to adopt another mode of punishing such offenders, by proposing to the Legislature to enact a law empowering the Bishop and Vicar-generals to commute their censures for a pecuniary fine." The clergy acquiesced, stating that they found "from sad experience that the censures of the Church have proved ineffectual to suppress the sins of adultery and fornication." No reference, however, seems to have been made to the Legislature, and ten years later the discipline was practically defunct.¹

¹ We may note that the chapter-quests, whose special duty it was to make presentments, disappear at this period.

Such presentments as we find between 1773 and 1800 were chiefly for the above-mentioned offences and for swearing, while some of them were for very insignificant misdeeds. Indeed, if contemporary writers are to be believed, the judges were frequently more in need of discipline than those who were brought before them. One of these writers, a military officer who lived in the island between 1789 and 1794, commented on the manner of the presentments as follows: "My pen revolts . . . with transcribing such nonsensical stuff, such as must draw a smile from every person of common sense; an indignant one it must be; that within a Protestant country, in this enlightened age, such absurdities should be tolerated."¹ Occasional penances were performed as late as 1825, and, in the same year, Bishop Murray is said to have excommunicated an offender against the moral law; but, after that date, we hear no more of the discipline of the Manx Church.²

As regards the effect of the failure of the discipline, there may be a difference of opinion, but with reference to the bad effect of the method employed by the duke for the collection of the abbey tithes, and by the bishop for the collection of his tithes, there can be no doubt, as it had caused great dissatisfaction both among the clergy³ and the farmers.

¹ *Townley's Journal*, vol. ii., p. 47.

² "As late, however, as 1847 churchwardens occasionally notified moral offences committed in their parishes to their rector or vicar, who admonished the delinquents, but did not bring them before any court." (MS. note by Archdeacon Moore.)

³ Because they ceased to act as proctors, and consequently lost their fees.

This method was, instead of letting them to the clergy of the respective parishes, as was the practice till Bishop Richmond came, to let them to the highest bidder at public auction. This individual then held sub-auctions to re-let the tithes, which, under this system, sold for much above their value. Thus, for instance, in 1750, the tithes of the parish of Braddan were let for £31 5s., and, in 1811, for £200, and the tithes of the parish of Jurby produced £20, in 1772, £138, in 1810; and £231, in 1811. This increase, however, before 1816 raised less opposition among the farmers than might have been expected, the period (1793—1815) having been one of considerable prosperity for them, as, stimulated by the great war, and by the large demand for agricultural produce on the part of the large number of strangers who lived on the island at this time, prices rose considerably. But, after 1816, this state of affairs rapidly changed, the demand fell off, and prices took a downward direction, so that there was much distress and discontent among the poorer farmers, which was aggravated in 1825 by Bishop Murray's attempt to collect the tithe of potatoes and other green crops, which had not been demanded for many years.¹ He also endeavoured, in concert with the duke, his uncle, to recover from the insular landlords a fixed sum of £6000 annually in lieu of all tithes. Tithe agitation.

In the latter he altogether failed, but with regard to the former he obtained a judgment in his favour from the Privy Council. On proceeding, however, to collect this tithe, so much dissatisfaction and alarm

¹ See p. 221.

resulted, and tumults became so general throughout the island, that the bishop was forced to desist.¹

Coming now to the other side of the question, the favourable influences, there can be no doubt but that the possession of the Manx Bible tended to preserve spiritual life among the Manx, and, if any proof of this were needed, it would be afforded by the remarkable number of religious carols² which

The Carols. date from this period. It was the custom to sing these carols in the parish churches, which were decorated with holly and ivy, on Christmas Eve,³ and from house to house, both before and after the Christmas festival.

We must not, however, be led by the name carol, or carval, in Manx, to think that these Manx poems are merely religious songs or ballads in celebration of Christmas; indeed, out of about eighty which are known to exist, only six are immediately connected with the Nativity, and eleven more mention it, but merely as part of other subjects, such as the life and crucifixion of our Lord, and they in no way resemble the English Christmas carols. By far the greater number of them are rhapsodies which exhort the sinner to repent by picturing with terrible realism the agonies of hell. The punishment of the damned is contrasted with the reward of the saved, the former receiving much more attention than the latter. Many

¹ The settlement of this question comes within our next period.

² See *Manx Carols*, published by John C. Fargher, Douglas.

³ So devoted were the people to this service, that we find cases of the churchwardens presenting their parson for neglecting to have it (see p. 236, note 3).

of the carols, too, are taken from the Old Testament, and relate to such subjects as the Fall of Adam, and the lives of Jacob, Jonah, and David. These carols are for the most part imbued Their spirit. with a spirit of the sternest Calvinism—a spirit which was opposed not only to the teaching of Bishops Wilson and Hildesley, but to that of Wesley. It is hard to explain the reason of this. It may be that Puritan influence was strong in the island during the middle of the seventeenth century, a period of which we know, comparatively, very little, and that the descendants of the men thus influenced were excited to enthusiasm by having the Bible at last made accessible to them by being printed in their native tongue.

Of the success of Wesley in the same direction, there can be equally little doubt, as we Wesley's success. have ample proof of it, not only from the records of the Wesleyans, but from the testimony of some of the clergy. One of them, for instance, wrote, "My church is well filled, and the monthly communions have increased from 70 to 130 and sometimes to 190 communicants, the congregation being as large upon Holy-days, as I have sometimes seen it on a Sunday evening,"¹ and "besides all this, my people (Methodists and all) now occasionally consult with me more than they did";¹ and, in 1842, Bishop Short recorded his belief "that the introduction of the Wesleyan Methodists, here as elsewhere, kept up a spirituality of religion, which would otherwise have been buried among us. I thank God for

¹ Henry Corlett, Vicar of German, MS. letter dated 1783.

the good done by them.”¹ As to the influence produced by the suppression of smuggling in 1765, the Records conclusively prove that the proportion of cases for drunkenness brought before the Spiritual Court became, almost at once, much smaller.

In addition to these various influences, it may be reasonably conjectured that the stringent discipline under which both clergy and people had been kept during the episcopates of Wilson and Hildesley, had resulted in corresponding laxity² under less capable and earnest bishops. But in 1814, with the installation of Bishop Murray, the nephew of the Duke of Athole, after a year's vacancy of the see, the Church began to recover.

After 1814,
the Church
recovers. The bishop at once commenced, as we have seen, to institute reforms, and with a man like Hugh Stowell, “the pious and eloquent Rector of Ballaugh,”³ to assist him, it soon became evident that “the spirit of Bishop Wilson was not yet extinct.”⁴ It was due to Hugh Stowell that, twelve years before this, Sunday schools⁵ were begun in the Isle of Man. “Having heard,” he wrote, “of the happy consequences attending Sunday schools in the neighbouring kingdoms,”⁶ he started one in his own parish, that of Lonan. From Lonan,

¹ Convocation Address, 1842. Pamphlet.

² As, in England, the austerities of the Commonwealth were followed by the excesses of the Restoration.

³ Ward, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bishops Wilson and Hildesley insisted on children attending church to be catechized, but there would not seem to have been any regular system of Sunday schools in Man before 1802.

⁶ MS. Diary.

the schools soon spread to the other parishes, and were also eagerly adopted by the Wesleyans.

Another improvement was the raising, in 1813, the fees of the parish school-masters, which were still on the miserably inadequate scale fixed in 1704, to "two shillings and elevenpence a quarter for each and every scholar taught to read English, and three shillings and sixpence a quarter for each and every scholar taught to read and write,"¹ by Act of Tinwald. Good work was also done in Man by branches of the British and Foreign Bible Society, established there in 1814, and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, established there in 1818. The only important addition to the insular schools at this time was that of the large school in Douglas, under the Lancasterian² system, built in 1811.

This period was not, as may be supposed, one of much church building or restoration, though the rapidly increasing towns of Douglas and Ramsey received attention, the former by the completion of St. George's in 1781, and the latter by that of St. Paul's in 1822. Besides these, Andreas church was rebuilt in 1800, and Jurby in 1813. In 1827, Bishop Murray, whose influence for good had been much vitiated by his action in the tithe question, was translated to Rochester, and, as the Dukes of Athole had sold all their rights to the English Crown, the Manx bishopric came under its patronage.

¹ *Statutes*, p. 363.

² *I. e.* religious but non-sectarian instruction.

CHAPTER X.

MODERN CHURCH (1827—1892).

WE now enter upon the last period of Manx Church history, and, as a considerable portion of it is within the memory of those now living, we will be compelled, for obvious reasons, to touch but lightly and with circumspection on much that has taken

The period opens gloomily. place during it. The early days of this period were gloomy ones, as the agricultural depression mentioned in the

last chapter still continued, and the unsettled state of the tithe question tended to alienate the people

Address from the clergy. from the Church. This was well understood by the clergy, who remarked,

when addressing Bishop Ward on the tithe valuation,

“We doubt not that a considerable augmentation may take place in the Revenues of the Church of Man in future years should a kind Providence send prosperity to our little Island, but no material augmentation can reasonably be expected at present in the deeply depressed state of the country. We are confident that if

your Lordship witnessed the indigent circumstances of the people, and beheld, as your clergy do, many of the

peasantry unable to obtain employment, or procure food for themselves or their families, and a large proportion of the Land-holders emigrating¹ to distant countries to procure the necessaries of life, your L^{ps} would concur in the opinion that this unquestionably is no time for the rigorous enactment of dues whether civil or ecclesiastical. We feel constrained to observe, that to have recourse to coercive measures for the recovery of disputed tithes would be attended with disastrous consequences, and not only produce general disaffection throughout the country, and materially disturb the peace of the community, but inflict a wound on the Church of Mann which the lapse of a century would scarcely heal."

Such being the state of affairs, it was not found possible to settle the tithe question till 1839, when the "Tithe Commutation" Act was passed. By this Act, it was decided that the tithe rent-charges should "be deemed to be of the value of Tithe Commutation Act. such quantities of wheat, barley, and oats as the same would have purchased in case one-third part thereof had been invested in the purchase of wheat at seven shillings and one farthing per imperial bushel, one-third part thereof in the purchase of barley at three shillings and elevenpence half-penny per imperial bushel, and the remaining one-third part thereof in the purchase of oats at two shillings and ninepence per imperial bushel, and to be regulated, increased, or diminished from year to year, according to the average prices of wheat, barley, and oats, as advertised

¹ There was a very large emigration to America between 1825 and 1840.

in the *London Gazette* ;” also that the average price was to be that of the preceding seven years. An agent was appointed on behalf of the bishop and clergy, and the “Commissioners of Woods and Forests,”¹ to collect these charges, the bishop, archdeacon, commissioners, and clergy having each one vote (or four votes in all), and the bishop, if required, a casting vote, in his election. This appointment of an agent for collecting the tithe was a wise provision, as it relieved the clergy from the odium and inconvenience of collecting it themselves, to which they have been, and still are, subjected in England and Wales. And we may note also that, according to the Manx Act, in the event of the non-payment of these charges, proceedings could be taken against the landlord in a court of summary jurisdiction instead of against the tenant by distraint, as was the case in England and Wales till recently. The total amount of the valuation was £5,575, which was divided as follows. To the Crown £525, the Bishop £1,515, the Rector of Andreas £707, the Rectors of Bride and Ballaugh £303 each, the fourteen Vicars £141 8s., the Trustees of Dr. Thomas Wilson’s charity for clergymen’s widows £141 8s.,² the Minister of St. Jude’s, Andreas £101.³

Thus was accomplished an important and beneficial reform in the Manx Church, by which any friction between the clergy and the tithe-payers was rendered improbable, and the monetary position of the clergy, who had been previously described as “so miserably provided for, as to be wholly unable to support with

¹ For the Crown’s share.

² See p. 217, note 1.

³ *Statutes*, vol. ii., pp. 114—123.

respectability their station in society as Christian ministers,"¹ was considerably improved. Present position of clergy. During the last few years, however, owing to the very low price of corn, their incomes have been considerably reduced, and, as the cost of living has greatly increased, the clergy are, at present, very inadequately provided for. The bishop, too, got a more secure, if not a larger income, at least till 1878, when, by the "Bishops' Of Bishop. Temporalities" Act,² it was arranged that, if the bishop's income amounted to £2,500 or more, he was to pay £500 to trustees to form a fund for the augmentation of benefices, but, if his income were less than £2,500, he had only to pay as much as it exceeded £2,000. As, however, his tithe has been affected in the same way as that of the clergy, there has latterly been no surplus available.

The clergy, as regards their character and conduct, and the "faithful discharge of their sacred Character of clergy. functions,"³ were, in 1837, described as "highly respectable,"³ and, at the present day, there is, most certainly, no need for a different verdict. Their numbers—at first through the Their numbers. exertions of the Isle of Man Diocesan Association, which was formed in 1839, mainly through the exertions of Bishop Bowstead, and latterly chiefly through the assistance of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates,⁴

¹ Ward, p. 172.

² *Statutes*, vol. iv., pp. 514-18.

³ Ward, p. 172.

⁴ It votes about £700 yearly, about £300 being remitted to it from the island.

the Church Pastoral Aid Society,¹ and the income of the Improprate Fund²—may now be regarded as sufficient for their work.

And now we have to record two attempts to annex
 Proposed annexation of Sodor and Man to Carlisle. “Sodor and Man” to an English diocese.
 The first was in 1836, when, by Act of Parliament, it was, on the death or translation of the then bishop, to be united with that of Carlisle. This was vigorously opposed by the Manx, whether clergy or laity. An endeavour was made to induce the clergy to assent to this change by the prospect of the revenues of the bishopric being divided amongst them, but they absolutely declined to consider the proposal. In the words of their petition to Parliament: “As to enriching the Parochial clergy with the spoils of their Bishoprick, your Petitioners dislike the principle, and dread the example: they affect not, indeed, to conceal, that the vicars of the Diocese are in straitened, in very straitened, in lamentably straitened circumstances, from which they humbly solicit, and would gratefully accept, honourable relief; but they disclaim a wish to procure temporal advantage at the expence of spiritual loss.”³
 Protest of clergy and laity against it. The Manx laity also petitioned Parliament against the proposed junction of the sees of Man and Carlisle.
 It is cancelled. In consequence of this, the Earl of Ripon, in 1839, brought forward and carried a motion in the House of Lords, that so much of

¹ Contributes about £80, receiving about £50 from the island.

² See ch. vi. pp. 158-61.

³ Ward, p. 69.

the Act as related to the Isle of Man should be repealed. In 1875, a proposal was made to unite this diocese with that of Liverpool, but it met with similar opposition on the part of the Manx clergy and laity, and was consequently negatived, though, when the scheme was afterwards fully explained, there was a considerable reaction in its favour among the clergy.

Proposal to
unite it with
Liverpool.

This last epoch of the Manx Church has been signalized by the energy and zeal with which the work of church building has been carried on. What the state of affairs in this respect was before this epoch, we learn from Bishop Ward, the inaugurator of this good work: "It was impossible for the preceding Bishops to find means for the building of churches equal to the extraordinary increase of the population,¹ before the attention of the English public had been, as it now is, generally drawn to the subject; local means were wholly inadequate to furnish the necessary church accommodation. I had recourse, therefore, to English charity."² In this way, the bishop, assisted by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, who was sent to England to solicit subscriptions, succeeded in raising between £8000 and £9000. "A further sum of £3000 was raised under the laws of the island from the different parishes, and, by the judicious application of their combined resources, several additional churches have been built, some enlarged, and others, in a state of dilapidation,

Church
building.

¹ In 1757, 19,144; in 1784, 24,924; in 1821, 40,081; and in 1831, 41,758.

² Ward, p. 61.

substantially repaired.”¹ Yet, even after these churches were completed, it was seen that there was urgent need for chapels in the more remote parts of the larger parishes, with chaplains to administer the services, and parsonage houses for them to live in. Several of these were provided by the Isle of Man Diocesan Association, and were, for the most part, built between 1839 and 1856.² During this period two churches were also built, viz. St. Thomas’s, Douglas, in 1849, and Marown parish church in 1853. Since 1856, church building has gone on steadily, especially during Bishop Hill’s episcopate, so that not only are there additional churches in the towns of Ramsey³ and Peel,⁴ and new parish churches in Braddan,⁵ Bride,⁶ and Patrick,⁷ but such places as Port Erin, Port St. Mary, and Foxdale have been provided with chapels, while many of the previously existing churches and chapels have been repaired and enlarged.

¹ Ward, p. 182. (Speech of Lord Ripon in the House of Lords.) These churches were Ballaugh, Conchan, Lezayre, Michael, and Lonan, and, in Douglas, St. Barnabas; and the chapels were St. Luke’s (Baldwin) and St. Thomas’s (King William’s College).

² Viz. St. James’s (Dalby), St. Jude’s (Andreas), St. Stephen’s¹ (Sulby), St. John’s (Cronk-y-voddy), Christ Church (Dhoon), Christ Church (Laxey), St. Catherine’s (Ballure); also a chapel at Tinwald (St. John’s), a chapel (St. Nicholas’s) built by Bishop Powys at Bishop’s Court, and (St. Thomas’s) at King William’s College.

³ St. Olave’s, licenced, 1862, consecrated, 1881.

⁴ Opened for service in 1884, but not yet consecrated.

⁵ 1875.

⁶ 1870.

⁷ 1879. This is not really a parish church though it takes the place of one for the present.

¹ A new chapel was consecrated in 1880.

This, too, has been a period during which education has received considerable attention. In 1830, the scheme originated by James, seventh Earl of Derby,¹ and, carried on by Bishop Barrow,¹ resulted in the foundation of King William's College, which was erected by means of accumulated funds derived from the academic school and academic master's trusts, together with £2000 collected by Bishop Ward, and a mortgage of £2000 upon the estates. The college was opened for students in 1833. The greater part of it was destroyed by fire in 1844, but was speedily rebuilt, chiefly through the exertions and liberality of Bishop Short. It provides an education similar to that of the great English public schools, not only for the sons of the Manx clergy and those wishing to enter the Manx Church, but for many others.² In 1858, a school which took the place of the old grammar school in Douglas was provided through the liberality of Mrs. C. Hall. In 1878, the "Sodor and Man Theological School" was established by Bishop Hill, in connexion with King William's College, for the training of candidates for orders in this diocese, so that the design of Bishop Barrow, which the foundation of King William's College had not entirely carried out, might be accomplished. Since then, in 1889, the theological school was transferred by Bishop Bardsley to Bishop's Court, under the title of "Bishop

¹ See pp. 145-6, and 163-5.

² The number of boys at present is 189.

Wilson's Theological School," and has recently been affiliated with Durham University.

Nor were the parochial schools neglected. Among Agencies for the improvement of parochial schools. other agencies obtained for their improvement was that of the National Society,¹ which made numerous grants towards building and fitting up school-houses, teachers' residences, etc., in the island, and received several schools into union with it. We may note also that, during the period between 1832 and 1868, no less than twenty-nine schools received Imperial Parliamentary grants for building, enlargement, improvement, or fixtures.² Elementary education at this time also received a great impetus from the interest taken in it by the able and energetic Bishop Short, whom we find addressing Convocation on this subject in 1845: "My great object has been to improve existing schools, trying to render those schools where I found tolerably efficient masters more efficient, in the hope that when people see respectable teaching by the side of inefficient schooling, they may become dissatisfied with the latter and try to improve it. . . . I do not yet know of any school which I could exhibit as a pattern; there are several which are very respectable, but they are all wanting either in instruction or method."³

¹ This Society receives schools into union with itself on condition that the children are instructed in the principles of the Church of England, subject to the superintendence of the parochial clergyman, and that they attend the Established Church. The managers of such schools have to report annually to the Society with reference to the state and progress of their schools.

² For full particulars, see *Educational Endowments*, Isle of Man, 1887. (Blue-book.)

³ Broadside.

Yet, in spite of the good bishop's efforts, the state of education in Man, judging by the report sent by the Rev. H. Moseley to the "Committee of Council of Education" in 1847,¹ was still far below the English standard.

The next step with reference to these schools was the passage, in 1851, of an "Act" ^{Act of 1851.} for making better provision for Parochial and other school-masters, and for making further regulations for the better government of Parochial and other Schools."² By this Act, rates could be levied by the parochial vestries for the support of these schools,⁴ of which there might be more than one within a parish, and committees appointed for their management. The chairman of this committee was to be the incumbent of each parish, or district in the towns, who was to have charge of the religious instruction in the schools. The committees were also granted borrowing powers, which enabled them to enlarge many of the schools and build houses for the masters.

In 1872, by the "Public Elementary Education" Act,⁵ which was on the same general ^{Education Act, 1872.} lines as the English Act of 1870, public elementary non-sectarian schools, called board schools, were established.⁶ Under its provisions,

¹ Pamphlet.

² "Previous to the passing of this Act, the common law or customary obligation on a parish was considered to be the maintenance of one school-building in the parish" (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xii., p. 235. Note by Sir James Gell).

³ *I. e.* not only the maintenance of the building, but all school purposes.

⁴ *Statutes*, vol. ii., pp. 274-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 57-93.

⁶ Among the conditions as to admission of children to these schools, and as to grants, are the following :

a grant is given in aid of the expenses of education from the insular revenue, in addition to the rates levied by the school committees of the various parishes or towns, who are elected by the people, or in the case of the denominational schools, to the funds supplied by subscriptions or otherwise; and the committees, whose schools earn a grant, are, whether managing a denominational or board school, subject to the control of a central board, elected by and responsible to the Tinwald Court. The examination of such schools is conducted by inspectors appointed by the English Council of Education. Finally, in 1892, elementary education was made free to all. The results of these changes have been that a considerable share of the conduct of elementary education passed from the hands of the Church to that of the State,¹ and that, as education was made compul-

“It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into the school, . . . that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school, or elsewhere. . . . The time or times during which any religious observance is practised, or instruction in religious subjects is given, at any meeting of the school, shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and end of such meeting . . . provided always, that in every public elementary school, other than any school in connexion with the Church of Rome, provision shall be made . . . for instruction in religious subjects, and for the reading of the Holy Bible, accompanied by such explanation thereof . . . as may be suited for the capacities of the children, and for the employment or for the instruction in secular subjects of such children as may be by their parents withdrawn from religious instruction. Such grant shall not be made in respect of instruction in religious subjects;” and to obtain it, it shall not be required “that the school shall be in connexion with a religious denomination, or that religious instruction shall be given in the school.”

¹ In 1891 there were 3,652 children in average attendance in board and 2,842 in denominational schools; the total number

sory,¹ the number of children in the schools has largely increased.

The relations of the Church with Methodism still continued intimate during the first part of this period. Of the state of affairs in this respect, Bishop Short wrote, on his arrival in 1841: "The diocese had been overrun with Wesleyan Methodism, and the tone of some of the better clergy had been that of imitating dissenting practices and plans. I heard of one (dead before I came there) who rented a seat in the chapel in his own parish, and was in the habit of attending the evening service there when there was none in his church. The plan was not merely to live on friendly terms with the dissenters, but to say to all who divided from the Church, 'There is no difference between the two.'"² But, after this date, the divergence between these two bodies became more marked, though, probably owing to the pronounced evangelical feeling which was gradually increasing in the Manx Church, it has never extended to nearly the same extent as in England. This divergence has been accentuated by the following Acts of Tinwald: "The Dissenters' Marriage" Act,³ in 1849, by which the governor may cause places of worship, other than

Relations of
the Church
with
Methodism.

of children in average attendance in 1872, before the passage of the Act, having been 3,279, the population (in 1871, 53,763; in 1891, 55,598) having slightly increased.

¹ Though, as we have seen (p. 214), education was made compulsory by Bishop Wilson, it had long ceased to be so, except in name.

² *History of Church of England*, Introduction, p. lxiv.

³ *Statutes*, vol. ii., pp. 231-42.

those of the Established Church, to be registered for the celebration of marriages. By the "Civil Registration" Act,¹ passed in the same year, births, marriages, and deaths could be registered in these places; and further, if any objected to be married in such registered places, they might be married in the office of the deputy registrar; and, by an Act of similar title, passed in 1876, regular civil registration districts were formed, where registration was made compulsory, and does not take place in any building dedicated to religious worship.² In 1881, the Burials Act was passed, by which burials might take place in churchyards,³ without the rites of the Church of England.

During the early portion of the period under review, it is clear that the condition of the Condition of the Church. Church itself still left much to be desired, as we find the clergy, in 1828, telling Bishop Ward that "the Manks Church has been for some time past in a very tottering condition, and unless conciliatory measures⁴ be speedily adopted, her ministers have every reason to apprehend deserted pews, alienated flocks, and a general contempt for the ordinances of our venerable Church." And, thirteen years later, we have the evidence of Bishop Short to the effect, that "the churches in the seventeen parishes of which the diocese consisted were generally empty; . . . the tone of morality was low, and the people falling into

¹ *Statutes*, vol. ii., pp. 246-53.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 462-5.

³ Act not yet published in book form. There are, as yet, no public cemeteries in the Isle of Man.

⁴ As regards tithe.

indifferentism.”¹ And again, “Our people are estranged from the Church, I do not say alienated, for I believe that there does not exist any feeling of hostility towards the Church, but many have wandered from us; and they who still hold with us are bound to us in a loose, uncertain way.”² Nor, judging from the remarks of Bishop Lord Auckland, who spoke of the wide-spread spirit of indifference to Church doctrines and discipline, and of the small number of communicants, was there any great im- Its improve-
provement by 1854.³ Since that time, ment.
however, we hope and believe, though it is most difficult to fairly appreciate the conditions of an epoch in which we are living, that there has been great improvement and progress. The position, in fact, of the Manx Church at the present day may be regarded as, on the whole, fully equal to that of the English Church, below the general level of which it had possibly fallen as much, at the beginning of this century, as it rose above it during the time of Bishops Wilson and Hildesley.

We may appropriately end our account of the Church with a brief sketch of its con- Its constitu-
stitution at the present day, and, as a tion.
preliminary to this, we will quote Bishop Short to show what it was fifty years ago :

“The constitution of the Church in the Isle of Man is very different from that in England. When I went there it seemed to resemble what Bishop Short’s
an English diocese was before the days account of it.
of Charles I. There were no visitations, but the

¹ *History of Church of England*, Introduction, p. lxiv.

² Convocation Address, 1842, Pamphlet.

³ *Ibid.*, 1875, quoted by Bishop Powys.

Bishop held an annual Convocation, which could enact canons binding on the clergy *in foro conscientie*, but not *in foro legali*, till they were confirmed by an Act of Tynwald. But as there was no expense and little difficulty in passing an Act of Tynwald, there would have been no practical hindrance to altering any of the local constitutions of the Church. There was a great deal of parochial discipline still kept in the island.¹ The ecclesiastical courts not only regulated those subjects which are brought before them in England, as marriages and wills, but the administration of the property of the deceased belonged to them for a year and a day. In addition to this, as there were no poor-laws, the whole provision for the poor was in the hands of the churchwardens, as it was in England before the Act of Elizabeth. A collection was made in church every Sunday, and the proceeds of this were administered by them. When a poor person had relations able to support him, and who neglected to do so, these were brought before the ecclesiastical court as neglecting a Christian duty, and the court settled what allowance they should make. Such cases were of frequent occurrence, and I never knew the right of the poor relation denied, whatever excuse they might plead for themselves. The temporal court used to support the ecclesiastical by allowing persons condemned by it to be sent to gaol; and if they would not go with the summoner, the governor was asked to lend his assistance, and always did so; but I believe this practice has now been stopped.”²

¹ See chap. ix., note 2, p. 254.

² Short's *History of the Church of England*, Introduction, pp. lxiv, lxxv.

Since this period, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts has almost disappeared. The first change was the transference by the "Ecclesiastical Courts" Act, of the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon's Court to the Episcopal Court in 1874.¹ In 1884, by the "Ecclesiastical Judicature Transfer" Act,² probate and other jurisdiction as to the estates of decedents, and all jurisdiction in matrimonial matters, was transferred from the ecclesiastical to the temporal courts, district probate sessions being substituted for the chapter courts. The jurisdiction that now remains to the ecclesiastical court, which is presided over by the vicar-general, as representing the bishop, is mainly concerning affiliation questions, the swearing in of churchwardens, and the granting faculties.

Changes since
Bishop
Short's time.

Among other changes, we may note that by the "Church Act" of 1880,² four Rural Deaneries were established, and Commissioners constituted as trustees of endowments for Church purposes.

The system of poor relief³ as regards the country districts and the towns of Castletown and Peel remains the same as stated by Bishop Short, but, in 1890, a permissive poor-law was introduced, of which the towns of Douglas and Ramsey have availed themselves.

¹ Authority is left to the archdeacon "with reference to visitations, or," what is judiciously styled "the performance of other duties pertaining by the laws ecclesiastical to the office of Archdeacon" (*Statutes*, vol. iv., p. 329).

² These Acts are not yet published in book form.

³ Valuable assistance was given to voluntary poor relief by the establishment of the House of Industry, where the aged and infirm poor are cared for, in Douglas, in 1837, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. Carpenter, Incumbent of St. Barnabas.

Convocation¹ still meets on the Thursday after Whitsunday, and we may note that its power of making canons, though not exercised since 1704, has never been abrogated, so far affording a token that the Manx Church is a separate National Church² governed by its own laws,³ which, however, must be approved by the Insular Legislature.⁴

The bishops during this period have been : William Ward (1827-38) ; James Bowstead (1838-40), translated to Lichfield ; Henry Pepys (1840-1), translated to Worcester ; Thomas Vowler Short (1841-46), translated to St. Asaph ; Walter Augustus Shirley (1847) ; Hon. Robert Eden, who became Lord Auckland in 1849 (1847-54) ; Hon. Horatio Powys (1854-77) ; Rowley Hill (1877-87) ; John Wareing Bardsley (1887-92), translated to Carlisle ; Norman Dumenil John Straton (1892).

¹ A Diocesan Conference was established in 1880, but has been for some years in abeyance. During the present year (1893) it has, however, been reconstituted, and sends three delegates to the House of Laymen at York.

² As proofs of this see Bishop Wilson's special prayers (pp. 226-7), and note that a special prayer for the Insular Legislature has been recently put forth by Bishop Bardsley.

³ It should be noted, however, that canons passed by the Convocation at York are binding on the Manx clergy.

⁴ Sir James Gell has shown (*Manx Soc.*, vol. xxix., pp. 36-49) "that the Insular Legislature has hitherto exercised full control over the temporalities of the Bishop and Clergy within the Isle, and jurisdiction as to the regulation of . . . the external affairs of the Church in the Isle of Man."

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